

FONEME
INSTITUTION FOR STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN HUMAN FORMATION

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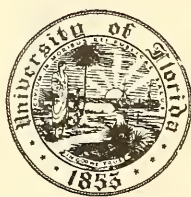
1st INTERNATIONAL
CONVENTION
AND AWARDING
OF FONEME PRIZES
1968

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This volume is printed in English, French, German, Italian.

FONEME — Institution for studies and research in human formation — was established in Milan by Mr. Nello Meoni on February 24, 1966.

The main purposes of the Institution are:

- to set up an International Center to collect studies and experiences on human formation from adolescence to maturity;
- to award every year three FONEME Prizes to be given to people of any nationality who, through their studies or works, emphasized, investigated or assisted in the solution of problems relating to human formation from adolescence to maturity. Each FONEME Prize consists of 3.000.000 liras, a golden medal and a parchment with the prize motivation;
- to sponsor international and national conventions.

The idea arose by noticing that, while the process of human formation from birth until the threshold of adolescence was always followed with great interest and success by scientists and scholars of every field, the period from adolescence to maturity did not enjoy of the same attention. Therefore FONEME decided to devote its work to this particular period of human life.

Before establishing the Institution, a careful inquiry was made in the main countries of the world in order to ascertain the reason for existence of such an enterprise. The successful results and the encouragements received led to the establishment of the Institution in February 1966.

FONEME immediately started its work. In fact, in May 1966 a booklet illustrating the Institution's purposes was printed in five languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish) and widely propagated.

After that, many bulletins and explanatory notes of the Institution's Presidence were printed and diffused in the same way. This subsequent literature intended to clarify some points of the Institution program, to keep all the interested people informed on its activities and to prepare and fix the first FONEME public events scheduled for May 1968.

It was also undertaken collecting and filing names of Foundations, Organisations, Institutions, individuals, etc., who wished to be kept posted on FONEME's activities and to co-operate with it either by simply giving suggestions or by sending any pertinent literature to be put in the library which was to be set. During this complex work of organisation, the Institution appointed the Committee for Papers, the Prize Jury and the Organizing Committee for both the first FONEME International Convention and the awarding of Prizes.

These bodies carried out a deep and scrupulous work of research and selection, on the basis of suggestions arrived from every part of the world. They ended their work in January 1968, by appointing the lecturers and the prize-winners for 1968.

Eventually, on May 11 and 12, 1968, in the Auditorium Centro Pirelli of Milan, the 1968 International FONEME Convention and awarding of Prizes were held, whose chronological order and results are exposed in this volume.

As provided in the FONEME statute, the International Convention and the awarding of prizes will take place every year on the second Sunday of May and on the preceeding Saturday. Six lecturers will be invited every year to the Convention from six different Countries in order to give papers having a particular interest for the man's formation from adolescence to maturity.

Every year three FONEME Prizes will be also awarded to persons who have given an outstanding contribution to the study and to the solving of the great problem to which the Institution devotes its activity.

1968 FONEME ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

President: Prof. Dr. Giuseppe Menotti De Francesco

Vice President: Prof. Dr. Armando Saponi

Members: Dr. Adriano Bracchetti
Prof. Dr. Vittorio Capecchi
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President: Prof. Dr. Armando Saponi

Vice President: Prof. Angiola Maria Migliavacca

Secretary: Dr. Adriano Bracchetti

PROGRAMME OF THE 1968 FONEME INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

Auditorium Centro Pirelli - Piazza Duca d'Aosta, 5 - Milano

Saturday, May 11, 1968

- 9,00 h a.m. - Mr. Nello Meoni, President of Foneme, and Prof. Dr. Giuseppe Menotti De Francesco, President of the Organizing Committee, open the Convention.
- 9,45 h a.m. - Mrs. Evelyn Kestenberg, Psychanalyst (France), delivers her paper on "Adolescence, its relations with the body and intellectual instruments".
- 11,00 h a.m. - Mr. H. Boutourline Young, M. D. (USA), delivers his paper on "A longitudinal study on adolescence in three different cultural environments".
- 4,00 h p.m. - Dr. Cyril S. Smith, M. Sc. (Econ), Ph. D. (Great Britain), delivers his paper on "The structure and functions of voluntary youth movements in Great Britain".
- 5,15 h p.m. - Prof. Dr. Ugo Spirito, (Italy), delivers his paper on "The protest of the young".

Sunday, May 12, 1968


- 9,00 h a.m. - Prof. L. Slachmuylder (Belgium), delivers his paper on "Personality and antisocial behaviour".
- 10,15 h a.m. - Prof. Dr. A. Prader (Switzerland), delivers his paper on "Normal and abnormal development of puberty in boys".

AWARDING OF FONEME PRIZES FOR 1968

Auditorium Centro Pirelli - Piazza Duca d'Aosta, 5 - Milano

Sunday, May 12, 1968

- 11,30 h a.m. - Prof. Dr. Armando Saporì, President of the Prize Jury, delivers his speech before the awarding of the three Foneme Prizes to:
Dr. RICCARDO BAUER (Italy)
Director of "Società Umanitaria", Milan
PARDO F. DELLIQUADRI, M. Sc. (USA)
Dean of the University of Hawaii School of Social Work
Prof. Dr. KURT HAHN (Germany)
Founder of the "Salemer Schulen", of the "Atlantic Colleges" and of the "Kurzschulen".



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Mr. Nello Meoni, President of FONEME, delivering the introduction speech.

At the presence of a numerous and selected public, among which authorities and Italian and foreigners experts were present, the President of the Institution, Mr. Nello Meoni, has open the 1968 FONEME International Convention, delivering the following speech.

I wish first of all to express my very keen thanks, and, at the same time, the satisfaction felt by the Institution over which I preside for the widespread and sincere participation in these first meetings organized by FONEME.

There are among us here today some high authorities of our country, representatives of foreign countries, renowned Italian and non-Italian scientists and research workers, representative personalities of a large number of professional, industrial and cultural activities. This reassures us, and provides a spur for our work.

Today and tomorrow, FONEME performs the first two significant public acts of its history: *the International Convention and the Awarding of Prizes for 1968*. It is wished with these

two events to officially begin the work that the Institution intends to do on the great theme: *Human formation from adolescence to maturity*.

In today's world, in the environment surrounding us, changing with ever-increasing rapidity as never before in the past, the formation of the young — always a fundamental question — becomes an ever more complex and important problem. The youth of today has to face very many problems, and sees or catches a glimpse of aspects of life that are complicated, confused and often disturbing; there follows from these growing causes of uncertainty and even of bewilderment an ever more urgent need to prepare the young in such a way that they can come of age with strength of spirit, moral and intellectual preparation,

health of body and mind such that it will be possible for them to face up to and deal with the environment in which they live and will live. This is a necessity — or rather a duty — of society towards the individual still in formation; a duty that is much greater and more vital than it was commonly believed in the past.

Much has already been done and is being done, from all points of view, for infants and young children; much less has been done, in my opinion, for the formation of the individual from adolescence to maturity — a period of considerable and I would say fundamental importance for the giving of an almost definitive moral, intellectual and physical physiognomy to the individual who will tomorrow be a mature human being.

For this reason, FONEME devotes and will devote all its own efforts, and the efforts of those who co-operate with it, in the study of this particular arc of time of human existence, considered under every point of view. And so the primary aim of the Institution is to summon and gather together, everywhere in the world, those who are interested in this problem, to encourage the coming together of these people and the free discussion between them, to make their work known so that maximum development may be brought to the studies and measures aiming at the improvement of young people's formation.

As clearly stated in its regulations, FONEME intends to perform its duties with maximum independence in respect of interests of any kind and of all ideologies or doctrines: its aim is of a purely scientific and divulgatory nature and its research work is carried out within the limits of the strictest human objectivity. It is in this spirit that FONEME takes on responsibility for the choice of the papers to be given at the International Conventions and for the award of prizes.

This Convention which, as I said before, officially and publicly begins our activity, will be repeated at regular intervals in the years to come. It represents a first solemn delivery of six papers in different fields of study and investigation, works of eminent scholars here met together from six countries. These papers do not end

up in themselves, but they will take on life in the years to come. They are the early seed from which further work will grow and from which will flower meetings, debates and practical guide-lines.

The six papers that you will be hearing will be translated into the principal currently-used languages and will be widely distributed by FONEME. The subjects treated will be completed by the work of other scholars in the forthcoming International Conventions; it is also possible that each of these studies will be considered and discussed even before in periods and locations other than the annual FONEME Conventions.

All the material thus gathered will be regularly distributed on wide-scale and will always be available to those interested in the problem of young people's formation.

If, by acting in this way, FONEME intends, in the near and far-off future, to encourage, activate and distribute all useful studies on this subject, it has at the same time considered it to be its duty to reward solemnly, at tomorrow's ceremony, certain eminent Personalities who have already devoted long years of study and work to the problem of the formation of youth. The Prizes, too, will be awarded every year.

FONEME does not intend to ignore what is already being done in the world, often at very high level and with exceptionally valuable results, in the various fields that affect the young; indeed, it wishes to co-operate with all for the collection and distribution of what already exists in this connection, and what will exist in the future.

Considering the fascinating problem in all its aspects and also as a whole, FONEME wishes to carry out a continuous research, available to all, on the requirements and physical, intellectual, moral and social needs of the young.

I have used the word research, a term frequently used in every branch of science, technics and economy, in the interests of an ever-greater well-being. The prospects in this sense are superb, but what would be worth the progress of goods, services and their production instruments if there

was not an equal advancement of man's physical and intellectual state, and of his conscience?

We wish to believe in the force of thought, in the resources of the spirit and in the possibilities of man's capacities — of this Man put on earth by God with the mission of achieving progress through mastery of the elements. But for man to be what we wish him to be, if it is necessary to work over the whole arc of his existence it is, above all, essential to work during the period during which his life is being formed.

FONEME wishes to embody a method and an instrument at the service of youth. FONEME wishes to perform this duty in order to make its contribution to the great cause and to attempt to placate the anxieties and concerns of those who feel, and often fear, the complex problem of the formation of their own children.

This method and this instrument, clearly, do not lay claim to immediate successes, one reason being that the problem itself does not allow for easy

progress. Only time and effort, perhaps a great deal of time and of patient effort, will one day state the value of our intentions.

With the spirit going out to hope, strengthened by the widespread consensus given to our aims, I truly thank all those who, both near and far, have encouraged our undertaking. A particular word of thanks goes to the Organizing Committee, the Papers Committee and the Prize Jury. And very heartfelt thanks to Professor De Francesco and Professor Saporì. I also wish sincerely to thank those responsible for the papers, who have given such a positive support to our work.

A warm "thank you" and a welcome greeting to the three worthy persons who will be awarded the FONEME Prize tomorrow. Without waiting for appeals, they have already faced up to our problem; responding in heartfelt way to the impulses of their minds and spirit, they have already worked in an exemplary manner in accord with the aims of our Institution.

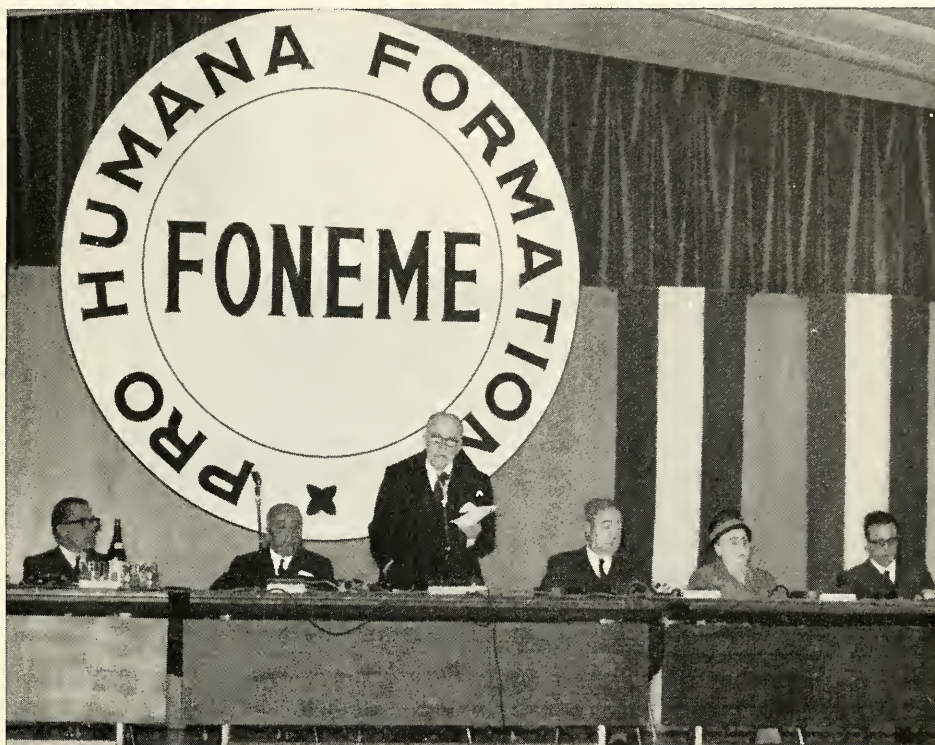


A view of the "Auditorium Pirelli" during the Convention.

1968 FONEME INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

**on human formation
from adolescence to maturity**

Prof. Giuseppe Menotti De Francesco, President of the 1968 Organizing Committee and of the 1968 FONEME Committee for Papers, has spoken after Mr. Meoni, in order to illustrate the subjects discussed by the six lecturers.



Prof. Giuseppe Menotti De Francesco, President of the 1968 Organizing Committee and of the Committee for Papers, opens the Convention.

To open, as President of the Organizing Committee and as President of the Papers Committee, the first public act of an institution having high educational and social significance — the result of the generous vision of a far-sighted man — is for me the cause of a great and deeply-felt satisfaction. It seems to me that my long mission as rector and teacher of the young generations in a certain sense goes on, reflowerishes with memories and with work that does not cease. The President of FONEME has illustrated the aims of the institution: to promote, that is to say to increase and reward studies and works related to the formation of man in the period going from adolescence to maturity. In the times we are going through, such purposes appear to be a particularly valid interpretation of a fun-

damental requirement, which is becoming increasingly dramatic in the conflict of generations, especially after the second world war.

In this conflict it is science and technics on one hand and the great increase in material well-being on the other hand, that bring themselves to bear on the traditional values; and the old institutions — which expressed these traditional values — are so affected by the new influences as sometimes to mislay their function and in any case to lose, to a great extent, effectiveness of action. Therefore the traditional both social and educational institutions, from family to school, society, Church and State, show themselves to be, if not impotent, in any case inefficient and powerless with regard to the problems posed by the new generations.

And so, today, the family finds the greatest obstacle to its educational action not only and not so much in the age-gap between generations and in the different experiences of parents and children, as — and especially — in the profound crisis of the surrounding world in which a new civilization was born: the era of atomic civilization, of technics and science, of consumers society — very different from that era both mechanistic and humanistic experienced by the parents twenty or thirty years ago.

And likewise the school, not less and indeed sometimes more than the family, feels the crisis of the modern world; never as in our days the school, which should tend to the formation of the personality of a youth which we could seriously rely on, has been undermined by phenomena of a continuous, irreversible transformation of reality, a transformation that puts down deep roots in every country in the world and affects old and new aspects of social life.

Two of these phenomena stand out very clearly indeed. The first is a growing preference on the part of the young and very young for concrete utilitarian and practical aims. Hence the ever increasing attraction of the technological and experimental sciences as compared with the moral sciences, from which there follows an unbalance that certainly does not ensure that spiritual expansion which could counterbalance the increased gravity of material matters and ennoble it with eternal moral messages.

It is too often forgotten that scientific and technical knowledge are a part of the ideal basis of human life and that if human life is synthesis, then scientific and technical knowledge has no value *in se*, unless it is joined together with the rest of knowledge. Science and technology must not impoverish the spirit, but must be creators of new forces, of new and fertile capacities. Francesco De Santis warned that science must love life, and must try to re-create within it the stimuli and limits; hence the serious and difficult task of the school of today: to contribute to correct the unbalance between the two trends and return them to harmony; to claim the human basis of science and technics

for a truly full and healthy and active production in the life of individuals as in the life of the collectivity.

The other phenomenon is investigated in an admirable paper delivered at this meeting: the paper of a scholar devoted to the highest and most penetrating research, the paper of Professor Ugo Spirito. Especially after the second world war, the world reached — as he acutely observes — an unforeseeable form of unification, and its history has become a single history of a single contemporary experience, and thus, as a result of this process of unification, there has come into being a change of values, which tend to become common.

The school cannot but feel deeply this change which affects the determination of its own aims and the very contents of its action, and there should not therefore be surprise at the profound crisis that today affects it from this point of view, with its consequent inadequacy for the task of forming man from adolescence to maturity. And, like the family and like the school, other traditional institutions no longer adequately perform this delicate but fundamental task.

The Church itself is affected by the mass society, the consumers society and by their challenge to Christian faith. Moreover, within the Church itself, there is an exaltation of the material values, of well-being, of the instances of liberty — even sexual — that is replacing, not the ascetic value, but the firmest rules, the truest sense of moral rigour, so that the effectiveness of the Church's teaching no longer answers, with the certainty that once existed, to the human formation of the generations, largely contributed to by the Church in the past.

And this is not all. The family, the school, the Church and all the many and various institutions that concur in the formation of the human personality, such as the militia, the radio, television and others, reflect the life and the society that move about them; but in this society the moral forces have waned, the notion of limit no longer acts as a brake on the instincts, the law itself no longer exerts its function as once it did, the principles of honesty, justice, solidarity are befogged in conscience, while the race for

the comforts and conveniences of life, the abundance of material things, facilitates corruption and attenuates the sense of responsibility in individual and social groups. State welfare itself does not always take full account of this reality and, with some of its institutions and some of its forms of action, involuntarily contributes to producing results that are negative for the formation of citizens aware of the difficulties of life and prepared to overcome them.

Social security, for example, which does of course fulfil a highly noble requirement of the modern State, understood as general or totalitarian measure whereby the State or Public Body completely replaces the individual, without the individual's contribution, may attenuate the sense of responsibility of the person, do away with renunciation, substantially mortify the personality of the single being. It is the sacrifices to be made, the hardships to be overcome, the difficulties, the obstacles to be faced that forge character; it is the struggle of life that ensures conquests.

"Man does not exist but in the struggle and does not realize but for conquest" wrote an eminent philosopher and dear friend, Francesco Orestano, and, he warned, everything must be conquered, from the small to the great things; and it is in this situation, which we can qualify a warrior's situation, that spirituality wins and affirms its own reality, a reality that, through the millennia, has come to be consolidated in the human conscience, and in its fertility of good holds the secret of every truer and more certain progress. Now, in this period of profound transformation and profound disturbance in conscience as in the educational, social and juridical institutions, the problem of the formation of man, in the most decisive period for the life that will follow, is seen as never before to be a basic problem, exceeding every other in its importance, complexity, its high civil and human final significance.

At this time, we even find ourselves faced with the contestation of mass society in its totality; with the contestation, on the part of the young, of the very statutory structures in force; with the overcoming of a political cul-

ture that has its centre in the parties aiming at conquest of the State, in the parties tyrannical towards the true liberty of individuals; and so we have the protest of youth, which tries to foresee a new world, rejecting the errors of the past, although without yet concretizing the new values in a constructive work, for which there cannot be considered completed that process of maturation which, by affecting present society, may put in its place a new and different society.

It can therefore be understood how relevant is, in this period of disorder, worry and promise, the problem forming the main subject of our international Convention, in which scholars of a great number of nations take part in the persons of their finest exponents, and at which eminent contributors bring the outcome of their research work with important papers in the various fields — but all falling with the framework of the ultimate aim of the FONEME institution.

Thus, Madame Kestenberg, professor in psychology at the Alfred Binet Centre of Paris, well-known for her studies in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, examines in her paper the contribution that psychoanalytic therapy can make for the assistance of educators, sociologists, pedagogists and of scholars in general in the formation of adolescents.

Dr. Boutourline Young, director of research at the "Harvard Florence Research Project", studies the hereditary and the environmental factors in human formation, and demonstrates the importance that these factors have in the development of character; this he does as the result of patient research, lasting 10 years, on more than 300 subjects, from the age of 10-13 to 20-23, living in Palermo, Rome and Boston, but whose grandfathers and grandmothers were all Italians. This research work led to interesting results from the physical, psychic, spiritual and moral points of view, duly enlightened by Dr. Young.

The author of the third paper is the eminent sociologist of the University of Manchester, Dr. Smith, who discusses the voluntary youth movements in Great Britain — organizations which, in their great variety, carry out a function aiming prevalently, in a broad sen-

se, at the education of the young and the promotion of social order and culture; these organizations are independent of the State, and for the most part have informal structures, which fact allows wide discretion on the part of the leaders in bringing the tasks into line with the requirements of the various situations. In the effort they make to avoid State action and to keep themselves financially independent, they represent a valid example for us Italians, who in general are unable to conceive of large, free organizations dealing with assistance and moral and cultural education without applying to the State and in some way depending on the State.

After Dr. Smith's paper, we have the paper of the Italian philosopher Ugo Spirito, which I have previously mentioned. In the very title of the report "The Protest of Youth", there can already be seen the seriousness and great number of the problems that the author deals with, as also the penetration of the investigation and the results of it: these results are historical, political, educative, social, human. This paper is one that does not lend itself to being summarized, which must not be summarized, but should be listened to with the utmost attention and meditated upon at length. There remain two other papers, that of Dr. Slachmuylder, of Belgium, judge and professor at the Institute of Social Studies of Brussels, and the other of Prof. Prader, of Switzerland, Director of the pediatric Clinic of the University of Zurich. In the first paper study is made of what the author calls the structure of the personality in relation to social adaptation, and reflections are made on juvenile delinquency, in respect of which action should, according to the author, be taken in each case by specialists, but which requires, for positive results to be achieved, to be accompanied by the

co-operation of the entire social community, family, school, law enforcement officers, friends, etc. The paper concludes recalling the measures in this connection taken in Belgium, especially with the institution of the Committees for Protection of Youth, embodied in 1965.

The contents of Professor Prader's paper is very different, dealing as it does with the thoroughgoing study of the state of health or illness at infant age of the endocrine glands productive of hormones, the most evident actions of which affect pubic development in adolescents; this is a physical phenomenon that the writer considers enormously important and which is related to an equally important psychological phenomenon, with profound repercussions of educative and social nature, which interest and should interest parents, teachers, priests, psychologists, jurists.

These are, then, the papers of eminent scholars, specialists in their respective fields of research, which the special Commission, presided over by myself, had the good fortune to assure to today's meeting.

They will be heard and meditated upon, today, with attentive interest by those taking part in the Convention; but they will be known and propagated everywhere in all countries, and entrusted to the meditation of all who care about such a fundamental and decisive problem.

In the certainty that the future Conventions, that the FONEME Institution proposes to organize, will continue and effectively integrate the studies made by the first six worthy research workers of today, I express to them my most heartfelt gratitude for their outstanding and appreciated co-operation, trusting that, in the future, the willing, generous and far-reaching work of the FONEME Institution will be widely distributive of good.

Translation from the original text in Italian, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

ADOLESCENCE, ITS RELATIONS WITH THE BODY AND INTELLECTUAL INSTRUMENTS

by E. Kestemberg



The lecturer Mrs. Evelyne Kestemberg, psychoanalyst and chairman of "Société Française de Psychothérapie de Groupe".

If it is true that for a long period of history adolescence was rather unknown as a specific period in the growth of the individual (there is, in fact, a hiatus between Antiquity, which recognized it, and the XVIIIth century, which found it again as such), it is however also true that it today constitutes a privileged pole of interest for a certain number of research workers in different disciplines (psychologists, educators, doctors, sociologists, etc.) and is indeed a kind of up to date topic - and not extraneous to commercial exploitation; this being true essentially in countries of western culture.

Now, this interest, demonstrated by a great number of both scientific and journalistic documents, finds its *raison d'être* essentially in the perplexity raised in adults by the behaviour of adolescents. This perplexity gives rise to various attitudes and sentiments, ranging from total blame to implicit or explicit admiration; in any event, it cannot fail to lead to a very thorough

act of reflection on the part of responsible adults.

If I have today chosen to deal with the problems of adolescence from the point of view of the relations that adolescents set up with their bodies and with their intellectual instruments, I have done so as a function of two hypotheses. According to the first of these, the behaviour of the adolescent, that is to say his relations with others, is simply a carrying over of the relations that the adolescent has with himself; a relationship that passes through his body and his intellectual instruments. In its turn, the relationship that the adolescent has with his own person is simply a transcription and effect of his relations with others, historically inscribed in his psychic development. The second hypothesis is that the manipulation that adolescents make of their own bodies and intellectual instruments traces out very exact limits, starting from which they provoke in adults beneficial or injurious counter-attitudes

of an immediate kind. Let me give a very banal example of this. An adolescent of nineteen years of age belonging to an upper middle class family, active and of somewhat strict morality, turned up for the visit dressed in a bright yellow suit, a violet shirt, long hair and with a languid attitude. As a matter of fact he was starting, for the third time, to study in a final class that ought to give him his "baccalauréat" and the opportunity for hypothetical further studies. It does not need much imagination to realize that his manner of dressing and his physical attitude are a permanent provocation aimed at the family ethics and a means by which he attempts to give a proof of the disinterest he feels for his studies. And, on the other hand, it is not difficult to imagine what insistent attitudes on the part of the parents and scorn on the part of the teachers this corporeal attitude gives inevitably rise. But if it is certainly equally clear that what is involved is a disguise, what is not at first so easy to understand is what this disguise conceals, and to discover — as it proved possible to do during the consultation — this adolescent's state of profound despair. In reality, this disguise covered a complete renunciation by this boy of any possibility of valid employment of his own intelligence, which was nevertheless of a kind that would have permitted him to undertake any study he might have wished to. In this way he did not express, as one might have believed, a somewhat scandalous wish for seduction, but, on the contrary, the deep-rooted sense of not being capable of pleasing or of being loved. To put it briefly, despising himself deeply and being resigned to renounce any manifestation of his own individuality, he adopted the appearance of many of his fellows of the same age, certainly with the sensation of losing himself in it but also of finding a kind of adulterated "consistency" which, however, he did not allow himself to be deceived by. Explicitly, he scandalized his own family and social environment; implicitly, he behaved like a clown and the bottom of the class, for the reason that he considered this the only means of relation available for him.

This example, chosen precisely be-

cause it is so trite, is nonetheless valid for illustrating the profound and complex inter-relationships existing in the manipulation of their bodies and intellectual instruments on the part of adolescents, as well as the enrichment that these inter-relationships derive from the reactions of the environment.

What I propose to attempt to demonstrate is indeed the close interaction between the way in which adolescents consider their own bodies and the way in which they utilize their intellectual instruments. This is an interaction that can give rise to complex and variously over-toned manners of organization which are always found, both in pathological states and in trite behaviour patterns. It is an interaction, furthermore, that is never independent of the behaviour of the adults in respect of the physical way of being and the intellectual and professional achievements of these youthful subjects. The relations that an adolescent has with his body and with his intellectual instruments imply an extremely dense play of relations, constantly enriched both by the personal drama of the subjects throughout the entire period of their development and by the past and present attitude towards them of the adult world.

These relations, furthermore, imply a determined sociological prospect that ranges, for example, from the foreseen necessity of a reform of the pedagogy of secondary and higher education, the placing under open discussion of the professional organizations existing within the economic apparatus of the country, to the commercial impact today widely evident in the totality of consumer goods destined to reach this category of subjects - who are not far from becoming a social class proper. It does not belong to me here to study the sociological, economical, political and educative sides of the problem of adolescence. As a psychoanalyst, however, I am obliged to attempt to throw light on the way in which, in each individual, there takes place the historical organization of the exploratory uses of his own body and of his cognitive and motor faculties, as well as the psychic conflicts that

these exploratory uses structuralize and provoke. It belongs to me, moreover, to emphasize the extent to which adolescence is a privileged period for the intensification of these conflicts. May I be permitted to have recourse to psychoanalytic theory to state the psychic organization of the individual during his development.

From the very start of his existence, it is through his body that the child feels the excitations of the external world, which he perceives as non-differentiated from his own body, and also the excitations deriving from his own inner needs. Thus, for the child, the body is his first instrument of knowledge. However, this elementary truth deserves some enrichment. In fact, what can be meant by the term knowledge as applied to the early periods of life, and what does psychoanalytic theory put forward to increase this comprehension?

In this first period, the life of the child is characterized by successive states of well-being and the opposite, corresponding to inner tensions (his pulsional needs) and to the discharging of the said tensions by means of the satisfying of needs. The child's state of dependence in respect of these tensions is thus total; and the tensions, as Freud teaches us, cannot be satisfied except by getting discharged.

It is a fact that the satisfaction of these needs depends wholly on the persons responsible for looking after the child, in particular on the mother; the dependence of the child in respect of the maternal figure is thus as close as it is in respect of its own needs. Emphasis should also be given to the fact that the demands (states of well-being or the opposite) are for the mother so many significant signals which she will or will not satisfy, depending on her own psychic organization. Now, if it is borne in mind that the infant, given the state of his neurophysiological apparatus, is incapable of distinguishing internal stimuli from external stimuli, it has to be admitted that the demands and the responses (tensions and discharging of tensions) are lived by the child through his body, within which there

are found, intimately fused, himself and the responses of the environment. Thus, in the first period of existence, every human being lives, within his own body, through a complex system of relationships that implies both the cathexis of the child by every person responsible for looking after him and also the direct pulsional demands that are not object of representations. The body in fact, in the early months of life, constitutes the sole object of cathexis, i.e. the place where there is felt what can later be called pleasure or pain. When, at about the start of the second six months of life (1), as Spitz has shown, the child has become capable of distinguishing the maternal face as a privileged semblance, and will at the same time be able to distinguish himself from the external world, his own dependence in respect of the mother will give rise to a complex psychic organization accompanied by anxiety. In fact, his body will no longer be the object of cathexis (narcissistic cathexis) but it will be the mother who is seen as the person capable of satisfying his needs or, on the contrary, of frustrating them; it is what we call the constitution of the object, which is thus the libidinal and aggressive cathexis of the other become singularized image. The anxiety accompanying this organization of the object is due to the constant fear of disappearance of the maternal figure, precisely on account of the needs that are connected with it and of the benign or malign power that this figure thus comes to hold. We can in effect note that when the child succeeds in distinguishing the mother from all the other persons, her absence causes him to suffer, while her presence tranquilizes him.

The father also quite quickly takes on privileged value — initially as mother substitute — in this cathexis of the object. However, the reality of the possible absence of the mother, even fleeting, and her fundamental incapacity to offer possibilities of liberation from all the pulsional demands, entail for the child the need to mitigate the suffering that derives

(1) All the chronological indications given are very relative and only indicative.

therefrom; and so, very precociously, the child tries to satisfy himself alone, by means of fantasy representations: which corresponds to the meaning of the lapidary formula «hallucinate the object». In the same way he will, by sucking his thumb or with any other game, be able to get by his own means the satisfaction that earlier only the mother could give him and which constitutes a pulsional discharge. And thus there is organized what in psychoanalytical theory is called the Ego, which is the psychic instance that allows the individual to make use of his own person to place reality at the service of need and pleasure, so as to realize the minimum of suffering.

We can note that, although «hallucinating» his mother, the child uses his own body and his motor possibilities. Auto-eroticism, as source of pleasure, thus appears right from the constitution of the object as a psychic possibility that the Ego takes possession of in the struggle against the anxiety of loss of the object, fundamental in the organization of the psychic apparatus. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that, in the organization of his fantasies, in view of the pulsional bi-polarity (libidinous and aggressive), the child, while interiorizing the mother — he unconsciously identifies with her — tends to project externally what is for him a cause of suffering. There is thus brought about the splitting of the invested object: the good object — source of satisfaction — which is at the same time the imago of the gratifying mother and the representation that the satisfied child has of himself; and the bad object, which thus becomes at the same time the frustrating mother and the child's own aggressiveness projected onto her. Later, the child will tend to organize his own projections so that one of the parents, the mother, become the good object, and the other, the father, the bad object; and this is the heart of the organization of the Oedipus complex. Both whether we refer to the Melanie Klein theory or to the Freudian theory, which are a little different, what counts in this context is that it is precisely because of the nature of the aggressive and libidi-

nous pulsions as also because of the intimate inter-relation between child and environment, that there is organized the bi-partition of the object into good and bad, at first confused in a single imago, that of the mother, and then differentiated between the imagos of the two parents. And it is always within his own person, through his own states of well-being or the reverse, of pleasure or of pain, that the child organizes his own imagos. With this rapid outline, I hope I have shown how at the start of existence the relationships of the individual with himself are intimately modelled by the relations the individual has with his environment. It is not necessary to specify that the ways in which the environment responds to the needs of the child induce, modulate and to a great extent sculpt out the possibilities of organization of the child's Ego. For example, if the frustrations are too intense, numerous or repetitious, if the child is affected too much, and badly, by its environment, its Ego-organizing possibilities — that is to say possibilities of substituting himself for the object to respond to the state of pulsational tension — will at one stroke be reduced as a result of the unbalance existing between frustrations and satisfactions, the pulsational tension being too great and the relief too rare. The child's identification with the object, that is to say the interiorization of the said object within himself, will be made difficult by the dominion of the bad object over the good object. His intra-psychic economy will be unfavourable to his further development; it goes without saying, on the other hand, that it will be favoured by a good handling by the environment and by a correct dosage of gratifications and frustrations.

As he grows, the child conquers the external world both with the use of his own cognitive faculties and motor faculties and as a result of the pleasure he feels in using them; but also as a function of the environment's reactions to these activities and to the pleasure he takes in and from them. At the same time, given parts of his body become progressively differentiated inasmuch as privileged sources of pleasure or frus-

tration. Freud has described the various areas of libidinal evolution, corresponding to the various stages of development, as follows: the oral zone, the anal zone and the genital zone. The acquiring of language, the mastering of it and the new exchanges it allows increase the sources of pleasure, of unsatisfaction and of anxiety. In effect, the body, privileged erotic zones and the cognitive acquisitions are integrated one with the other and are without meaning except as a function of the organization of the fantasies of the child, that is to say of the unconscious representation of his relationships with the parental imagos. These relationships are complex and are source of conflicts on account of the inevitable contradiction between the pulsational demands, the libidinal and aggressive demands and the real or imaginary prohibitions in respect of the child's own demands imputed to the parental imagos.

At the time of the fantasy-seeds of the Oedipus complex proper, which corresponds to the organization of the genital erotic zone (at about the third year) — a period in which the maturative processes are complete — there is set up a conflict between the child and the parent of the same sex as the child, experienced as a rival to be suppressed, but also as object of love that can at no cost be lost. The child vacillates between identification with the parent of its own sex, which allows him simultaneously to obtain for himself alone the object of love and to hold within himself the rival, and the identification with the parent of the opposite sex, which allows him to be the love object of such parent. This conflict with the parental imagos, the prohibitions that derive from the interiorization of the imago of the rival parent — what we call the Superego — are, as is comprehensible, sources of anxiety and, as a function of this anxiety, re-organize also the prior fantasy representations of more massive, less over-toned kind.

This anxiety crystallizes around the differences of sex between the imago of the father and that of the mother, and takes on the privileged form of castration anxiety, which is subtended by all the prior forms of anxiety (destruction, fractionization, etc.) and

reorganizes it in its final fantasy representation. To calm this anxiety the child has recourse to a true splitting of his investments and, removing himself from the conflict with the parental imagos, will give a privileged importance to his own activities and especially, having meanwhile reached school age, to his own intellectual activities. There is then set up what we call the latency period, in which the functions of the child's Ego and also all the socio-cultural acquisitions and the motor activities constitute an equal number of counter-cathexis which permit a provisional removal from the Oedipus complex, while the activities and pleasure resulting from them contribute to enriching and strengthening the Ego.

This is the age at which the child essentially interests himself in school, games, fellows, and finds in the pleasure that these give him sources for his own enrichment and a relative removal from the conflicts inhering in his fantasy relationships with his parents. In this way, he forgets to a certain extent his own body and can live in a more or less non-sexed situation. The attainment or approach of puberty calls seriously into question this equilibrium of the cathexis and counter-cathexis set up in the latency period. It is not so much a question of induced biological re-adjustments — the range of which is moreover somewhat debatable — as of the visible modifications of the body that call in question the representation that the individual makes of his own by now ineluctably sexed body. It is known how different are the reactions of adolescence to this sexualisation. They range from overt attempts at negation, as in the case of those young girls who compress their breasts under their dresses in an attempt to hide them, to the ostentated bragging shown for example by those almost beardless boys who with great ceremony shave off hairs invisible to all but themselves. But these behaviour exaggerations should not make us forget that in every case his own body is what everyone knows least well of himself; and the modifications of physical appearance lead in adolescents to a fantasy-process in respect of their own bodies that is often disconcerting

and hard to pin down. We prefer, on the other hand, to have recourse to the expression "body fantasy" rather than the term "body image", in order to avoid the ambiguity due to the neurological connotation of this latter term. An example that makes tragically clear the difference between the real physical appearance and the fantasy of the body is given us by anorexia suffering girls; other illustrations of this delirious fantasy-making of the body can be gained from the whole series of serious pathological states that can be comprised under the denomination of body-phobia (ereuto-phobia, etc.). However, despite the interest raised by the study of these pathological states and the teachings deriving from them, it is not on these that we wish to concentrate our attention but rather on an iconography of a more banal kind that points up the importance of body-fantasy-making in what can be defined as crisis of adolescence and, even more generally, the setting-up of the adolescent period.

However, before bringing two clinical illustrations, it is necessary to have once more some more general considerations. The sexualization of the body started by puberty brings a very intense "reactivation" of the Oedipus complex. The problems relative to the identification with the father or with the mother, for the girl or the boy, the prior relations with the parents both in the field of verbal contacts and in that of physical contacts, become particularly acute precisely by reason of the sexual desire that from that moment onwards the adolescent cannot ignore. What are now his desires are in effect ineluctably tied up with his genital apparatus; while, previously, the sexual nature could be denied both by parents and by children. With a process of readjustment and extension that is easily understandable, the adolescent can experience each desire and every exchange as dangerous, anxiety-bringing, to the extent in which they are impregnated with sexuality. He can even reach the point of denying his own body and his sexual needs, to the point of denying every desire, of whatever kind, thus prohibiting himself any achievement and, in extremis, in a desperate at-

tempt to dissolve every tie, can, explicitly rejecting his parents, unconsciously refuse all possibility of identification. Which brings him to the dead-end of doubting his own identity. Thus, we see that these subjects compulsively verify their own being in every mirror, making of each person, of each success or failure a mirror in which they seek to find their own reflection; or else more we see them renouncing every verification of this kind, that is every individuation and camouflaging themselves beneath eccentric clothing - that are nothing else but uniforms identical to those of their fellows -, and resigning themselves to mediocrity. Sexual achievements properly so called undergo a variable and particular fate. In the first place, what for the child was a part of his very earliest individuation, i.e. auto-eroticism, is for the adolescent a cause of torment. Masturbation is in fact lived by the adolescent very often as dangerous, and always as shameful. It is an impelling necessity and thus a witness of the sexual desires that embarrass the adolescent precisely because the said desires are bound up with the parental imagos, from which he seeks to escape because of the intensity of the Oedipus conflict. For this reason, masturbation ineluctably feeds the castration anxiety inherent in the conflict. Masturbation activities or fantasies (the latter richer in girls than in boys, as a rule) constitute for adolescents also a witness of their isolation resulting from the fact that they are not adults loved by other adults; the said activities or fantasies are cause of lack of esteem for the self and at once return the subjects to the depression latent in the difficulties of identification and identity that can be met with in all adolescents. On the other hand, very often sexual relations with persons belonging to their own age group are experienced in a perpetual negation, in a sort of separation of the adolescent from his own body, as an activity without value and without pleasure, which constitutes, at the extreme, a kind of betrayal without importance that the adolescent commits in respect of his person, his true wishes, his sentiments and aspirations.

The poet Aragon has described this situation:

Qu'importe puisque c'est encore
Moi qui moi-même me trahis
Et mon ombre se déshabille
Dans les bras semblables des filles.

This aspect of the sexual realization, with the separation-from-self that it implies, is certainly worrying at the level of the further evolution of the adolescent, but it is also so and to a large extent in the social plane because of the consequences that derive from it.

The denial of sexuality and of the body can in other cases end up in taking refuge in a certain mysticism which, if tempered, may even be quite positive, but can also result in attempts at loss-of-self in a disincarnated and megalomaniac universe attained by means of the use of various drugs, as can be fairly widely seen today. Finally, in view of the close relationship between the intellectual activities and corporeal experience proper, in the prior stages of the development of the individual (as we have hitherto tried to describe them), these intellectual activities are lived in the shadow of castration anxiety; the intelligence and its achievements in fact are a fantasy representation of the penis which the boys fear to lose and which the girls vaguely wish to have. In this case, the intellectual activities are over-invested; they remain constantly symbolic of the conflict, which proves at the same time the repression and the return of the repressed material. The scholar phobias are an example of the said pathological organization.

There is yet another possibility of denial of the body, often a fairly happy one, similar to the one existing in the latency period: what is here involved is a counter-investment, over-toned with sublimation, of the intellectual activities, in which the latter remain at the disposal of the adolescent, thus allowing them positive achievements in this field. This possibility, when present without entailing a too-profound splitting — as for example occurs with the cases of mental anorexia —, opens up good prospects for the solution of the tempest of adolescence; and this to the extent in which

the enrichment of the Ego resulting from it offers sufficient narcissistic satisfactions to restore within certain limits the self-esteem of the adolescents; a restoral that allows them also progressively to re-colour and re-adjust their relations with the parental imagos by having recourse to substitute persons often chosen from among adults of a certain age, or, on the contrary, from among people of their own age and kind invested with a value of Ideal of the Ego. The activities with this latter group within ideological groups allow, for example, an objectal investment such an unconscious restoring and identifying homosexuality; in this way there can to some extent be reduced the difference — so painfully experienced by adolescents — between their Ego Ideal and the image they have of themselves. By using this Ego Ideal rendered more accessible, they are able to find again objectal bonds valid in their own eyes and can thus start off in the direction of a positive solution of the Oedipus conflict.

It is thus within this economic equilibrium altered and in the easy cases re-established, between the narcissistic investments of their bodies and of their intellectual activities and the objectal investments of the others, that the various moments of the tempest of adolescence take place. And it is within these coordinates, within the various times and aspects of this fortunate or unfortunate equilibrium, that the examples that I shall now give are placed.

The prognosis of the evolution of the states of crisis of adolescence will be all the less favourable the more the intellectual instruments and the body are intensely re-invested or over-invested; and it will be all the more favourable the more the equilibrium of the investments and counter-investments bear witness to the existence of less rigid defences and leave free one or more privileged sectors.

Let us add, finally, that the living conditions, the social environment, the way of life of the latter, the identification possibilities thus offered are not extraneous to the quality of the evolution of adolescents and to the flexibility, acquired or re-found, of their investments.

First there is a case which, though

trite, seems to me nonetheless quite severe. It concerns a young boy of 18, youngest son of a family comprehending the father, an industrialist, the mother, a woman belonging to the "establishment", and an elder brother older by about 10 years. It is the parents who ask for the "consultation", on account of the "incredible idleness" of this boy, who in fact spends his days at home, in bed or in his pyjamas, and goes out only for nocturnal adventures from which he always gets back very late. For two years, in various institutes which he is in turn asked to leave, he has been trying to prepare a qualifying examination which he does not know really what he would do with if he passed. According to the parents, he refuses to work in his father's organization, in which on the other hand the elder brother is firmly established with fairly important duties. The mother is exasperated by her son's behaviour and hides her apprehension beneath a kind of compulsive over-activity; she does nothing all day but exhort her son to get up, to wash, to work and so on. The father, no less exasperated, is however also preoccupied, afflicted with a sense of guilt, and wants at all costs to do something for his son. His behaviour vacillates between a blind repression and the wish to understand his son. He "confesses" us that he has an extra-marital relationship and does not get on well with his wife, in whom he above all disapproves the behaviour in respect of the son, and adds that he is often forced to leave the house because of it.

He compensates for this lack of interest in his family by being very generous with money to each member of it, especially to the younger son; the sums given to the latter would in fact suffice to keep a young couple. Hubert spends this money in his nocturnal adventures, which among other things take him to all the smartest Parisian night-spots. The father adds to what he calls his "confession" that he has a certain yen for alcohol, when at home, because of the enormous boredom he feels. The elder brother is a "little master", disdainful, ambitious, who makes no secret of his own scorn for the family

in general and for the younger brother in particular who — as Hubert himself states — "disgusts him". Hubert, at a first meeting, seems to us a young man of good family, dressed too impeccably by a good tailor, and with smoked-lens spectacles that he never leaves off for a moment for an entire half hour. His gait and way of sitting have a kind of dummy-quality, so much so as to give the impression that he is detached from his carnal "envelope" which he is in a hurry to seat in an armchair. Despite all this, he willingly confides in us, from the very first meeting. In fact, he says, he does not do anything, has no wish to do much, and would perhaps be attracted only by important duties in the family concern, but the elder brother already has that job and moreover he does not think he could make the effort required. At the present time he does not any longer even pretend to go to school — it's really such a waste of time — when he went he used to fall asleep in the lessons. His mother wants him to continue his studies, and thus summoned a certain number of teachers who find him regularly still in bed when they arrive; all this is quite amusing but also a little depressing and, all in all, perhaps he is a little ashamed of his own idleness and carelessness, particularly with regard to the teachers. Among other things, he feels tired during the day because at night he goes out with a whole series of boys and girls of his own age; they are all in the habit of attending "galant meetings" accompanied by marijuana and sometimes by perverse sexual activities in twos or threes. None of these young people interest him, and even less so the girls, who let the boys exchange them like so many goods. Drugs do not give him any particular pleasure, except perhaps that of for a few hours forgetting his own boundless boredom. When we ask him why, then, does he go on with these nightly escapades, he replies that he does not see why he should behave differently from the others, since they do it and he is certainly not worth more than them. It seems also that they like it so, and so why should he refuse to take part. As far as the parents are concern-

ed, they are better not spoken about, they interest him even less than the young people of this heterogeneous group to which he belongs. Still, they have to be tolerated, as they keep him. With his father he has no relationship — so he says us with a barely perceptible trace of regret. He cannot bear his mother — she understands nothing and is incurably foolish: “the only thing she knows how to do is to bother me all the time and without ever stopping”. With regard to his brother, at first he says nothing and then relaxes for a moment and states that the difference between them is so great that nothing can be expected in this area; it is at this point that he tells us how much his brother despises him: “he says I disgust him”. This boy has accepted the talk so that he may be left in peace as, in his opinion, there is nothing that can be done for him. However, at the very end, he agrees we should meet again if we prove to be able to free himself of this boredom which on the surface he seems to find agreeable but in reality has a certain apprehension about. It is this barely perceptible anxiety that let us think that perhaps something might be attempted.

During the subsequent talks, Hubert told us much more about himself of his own free will. We shall only mention here what is relevant for our purposes. The fact is that Hubert believes he is sexually impotent, and has thought so for a long time, “always”, that is to say from the time of puberty. For a long time he avoided having sexual experiences so as not to have to reveal this impotence. It suits his purposes to go to these meetings attended by various numbers of people and helped by drugs and alcohol; certainly he is impotent, “but I can always say that it is because in these conditions I can have neither desire nor pleasure, I detest these kinds of amusement and then I can also say that it is the hashish and alcohol that make me impotent. But I don’t believe my own alibi for long. In any case, not only am I impotent but I’m too small, too slim, I have no ‘consistence’. As regards studies, really I see no reason to go on with them. I’m not stupid but have a me-

diocre intelligence; when I realized this I gradually stopped studying and now, anyway, I have such a lot to catch up with that it would be impossible. And then, all things considered, it doesn’t interest me, or at least I don’t think so”.

As for the future, the prospects are all traced out: he will either continue to live at home as now, to have his father give him money and go out in the evening to amuse himself (he says this last part with a trace of irony), or, “if in the end ‘Pater’ sends me away it doesn’t matter, I’ll certainly be able to find another rich gentleman to keep me. You know, I am very pleasing to men, so far I haven’t taken advantage of it but if I had to it doesn’t bother me, it doesn’t worry me”. To round off these summary annotations, we should add that Hubert has only a very dim remembrance of his childhood. It seems to him a kind of wadded greyness from which nothing worthy of note can come to light. He doesn’t remember having been cuddled by his mother, or guided by his father. He thinks the first didn’t want to and the second didn’t have time. There were always governesses around, neither good nor bad, after all they were paid to look after him. School: at first it was quite fun, but then the early teachers did not pay him special attention and later on the teachers were all more or less boring. His companions were quick to make fun of him because of his rather slight appearance. This last memory is the only one that seems to disturb him. Hubert says he should have done a bit of sport: “in this way I could have fought with my companions, but nobody suggested this to me”.

It is pointless to give other details on this case, the prognosis for which is evidently negative; of the valuable lessons that the case offers we shall use only what it is directly relevant to our purpose.

Even a somewhat superficial analysis brings to light the following elements: the poverty of interest and investments is striking, both in respect of the body and of the intellectual activities. We can note that the difference between the Ideal of the Ego and the image the subject has of himself is impor-

tant and leads to a latent depression; the intelligence is thought of as mediocre, hence the uselessness of having recourse to it and the renunciation of any achievement. The fantasies about the body emphasize the poor quality of the narcissistic investments; the body has always been thought of as fragile, inadequate, and from puberty onwards the phobia of impotence has taken root. For this boy the body is a phobic element; his psychic structuralization has developed around a negation of this body. In this connection emphasis should be given to the absence of any physical pleasure and the feminine identification with the body-goods for exchange, as he stated with regard to girls.

This adolescent is in a regressive position in which the only position of equilibrium for the conflict is a joyless passivity. This very passivity (the giving himself over to the pleasure of his companions, the fantasizing out of a homosexual relationship in what can be a source of financial gain, the abandonment to drugs in a negative attempt at sublimation) leads — and at different levels — both to the inversion of the Oedipus complex (oblation to the paternal imago) and to a manner of exchange of oral type (the receiving of money and the relative well-being this secures, the living as if empty in the midst of boredom). Identifying possibilities are reduced, the paternal and maternal imagos having been devaluated; only the substitutive imagos of the elder brother and of the companions of childhood seem to have kept some identificatory consistence, but they are experienced as a Super Ego of strictly prohibitive and crushing kind (the brother is too distant from him and blocks his path; as for the friends, it would have been necessary to come to blows with them). From all this there results a kind of enormous poverty of objectal investments and an almost total incapacity for any sublimating activities.

The experienced past (childhood and the memories that remain of it) as also the projection into the future are entangled in the same sad and sterile greyness, witnessed to by the poverty of fantasy life which subtends

the a-pragmatism of which it gives proof; even masturbation remains only indirect, watered down as it is by the lingering in bed, without other achievement or satisfaction. Finally, the conditions of life, the present behaviour of the parents and of those of the same age in his social group are such as to encourage in this body the backsliding into delinquency, which his passivity leads to foresee.

We think that these few annotations are such as to illustrate the interrelation that exists between narcissistic investments (the body and the intellectual activities) and objectal investments (the others). They seem to us also exemplary for the purpose of illustrating the poor quality of the identifications. To conclude, we would emphasize the reactions of the environment (impotence and derision) strictly similar to those that this adolescent has in respect of himself.

The time allowed obliges us to confine ourselves to only one other example which, in the very broad and rich range of the various organizations of the period of adolescence, is at the extreme opposite pole of the previous example.

Cécile is 14, tall for her age, pretty, and objectively she achieves satisfactory school records. She belongs to a family comprising five children, of which Cécile is the second and the only daughter. Both parents are professional people, kind, open and particularly tolerant. Cécile has always suffered from an unforgiving insomnia, or rather she has suffered from it for a very considerable time — she says. In effect, in the early month of her life she had persistent periods of insomnia which had concerned the parents and which were cured with appropriate medicines. The insomnia reappeared with intensity only a year ago, or little more (period corresponding roughly to the attainment of puberty). From the point of view of development, it seems there is very little to say; in childhood she caused no concern; but, towards 6-7 years of age, she went through a period of violent fits of anger, of instability, of various but not serious behaviour disturbances, which did not fail to worry the parents but which anyway seemed to have improved. According to the mother, the

insomnia is at present the sole symptom, but remains resistant to all customary medicines; and it was above all Cécile who, guessing its psychic origin, asked to have a talk with a psychoanalyst. Seen through the prism of Cécile, the situation is more complex and full of overtones than it seemed to the parents. It is true that she does not sleep, and that this fact irritates and tires her, but also, and above all, she feels desperate. "Certainly", she tells us, "I get on quite well at school, but this does not prove that I'm intelligent, because I'm not. And then, what we learn is not so interesting and is not so difficult that succeeding in understanding is a merit. What concerns and attracts me are the "big problems", but I wouldn't really know which they are. And this does not surprise me because I personally haven't got enough qualities to be able to deal with them or understand them; and then, my parents don't take a great deal of interest in me, they are terribly nice, but if they are so tolerant this means of course that I am worthy only of a kind of weak contempt mixed perhaps with a little kindness".

So, we see, Cécile's insomnia is accompanied by a state of depression and a profound doubt as to her intellectual capacities, despite a steady school record. The evolution of the treatment of Cécile, which was very positive, allowed us better to pinpoint her psychic organization. We shall consider the following factors. Pretty, she feels herself ugly, and this has always been the case - and even more so recently. She has a constant need of the "look" of others to verify her own bodily appearance and her own value, but as soon as she feels herself appreciated or pleasing she is obliged to doubt these elements, both by denying all value to those who have shown their interest or attachment and by attributing to those happy moments such a temporary character that they come to lose all significant value. Her Ego Ideal is in fact very much present, but entirely inaccessible. People are without value, she says, unless they are calm, confident, pure and hard. And this is how she would like to be — without inner contradictions and without

fear. And so — she says — what she cannot bear is the fact that she can feel and think one thing and its contrary both at the same time.

The example she gives of this so intolerable contradiction is anything but trite: "When I don't sleep, I often think of death". I have no feeling of fear, but I can't bear not having a decisive position about it. Sometimes I tell myself that the only valid attitude would be to commit suicide to prove to myself that I can face death without passively undergoing it. It is in fact for me intolerable to think that, without taking any positive action about it, one day I shall die ineluctably, because one dies, you know, ineluctably. I should like to take my own life so as not to be subjected to this destiny. Sometimes, on the contrary, I feel that, as I go in the direction of death I should in the meantime enjoy all the pleasures possible". This metaphysical concern, typical of the age in question, is experienced apparently without anxiety, but related by Cécile herself directly with her insomnia. It is easy to perceive (and also demonstrate to her) that the ineluctability of death is bound up with the body, *in* so perishable. In fact, beneath this metaphysical appearance it is precisely her body that Cécile refuses and it is through her body, without psychic manifestation of the anxiety, that she expresses both her desires and this refusal; and this by means of insomnia, which represents a victory over death-sleep. Her Ego Ideal, apparently melagomaniac — to be a superman actively dominating human destiny — hides and contains its identification in a virile imago, and the impatience in respect of what she calls her own passivity clearly demonstrates Cécile's difficulty of identification with the maternal imago. In this connection she says "with mother I have had only superficial relationships, and ever since early childhood I don't think I have ever had any relationships, either good or bad".

We should note that in fact an illness of Cécile's mother while the child was still young kept the two apart. Cécile speaks very little of her brothers and of her father, and especially of the eldest brother, and when she does say something it is to state that there is

an unbridgeable distance between her and them. Any approach to them seems to her impossible; however, during the cure, Cécile fell victim to a complaint that called for the active help of her father. This kind of complaint is unique, and she did not tell me about the incident until long after it occurred, and then with the greatest reticence.

These annotations seem to me sufficient to understand the present organization of the conflicts of this girl, and the economic equilibrium of her investments. The Oedipus complex is obvious and is expressed both in the putting a distance between herself and her father and her eldest brother, as well as through her interpretation of the tolerance of the parents, understood as lack of interest in her; finally, it is expressed in the negation of the possibility of pleasing as a woman, although she is pretty. The difficulty of organizing an imago of the Super Ego of actively prohibitive kind (shown in particular by "the total lack of relations with my mother") brings so close as to confuse them, in part, the Ego Ideal and the unattainable identificatory imago, partially experienced as Super Ego.

The objectal difficulties inherent in the conflict throw off balance the inner economy in favour of narcissistic investment, demonstrated by the importance of the megalomaniac Ego Ideal — to conquer death, to be a superman — and also by the explicit dissatisfaction relative to her own body and her own intellectual achievements, a dissatisfaction that leads to the search for a mirror. The regressive aspect is witnessed by the insomnia which brings back to the archaic relations with the mother, as on the other hand does the recourse to the megalomaniac Ego Ideal. The wish for asceticism and the metaphysical concern, as also the difficulty in abandoning herself to her own fantasies, show the reactional forms meant to repression pulsions and bodily pleasure. However, the investments and the counter-investments keep sufficient flexibility to allow the maintenance of a fecund intellectual activity as a result of which the negation of success seems to be an adequate defensive path, as is also the organi-

zation of the symptom that expresses at the same time the conflict and the attempt at negation. We should add, finally, that the maintained possibility of the intellectual achievements is an important factor for the keeping of this relatively flexible equilibrium, not only by means of their intrinsic structural richness, but inasmuch as they facilitate the identification with the imagos of the father and of the eldest brother and precisely in this way open up a path for resolution of the Oedipus conflict. For an adolescent, in fact, identification with the father means at the same time avoiding rivalry with the mother, keeping her, as the father does, as object of love, pleasing her like the father, but also to be like the father and unite with him in this very identification; this latter in fact constitutes a stage inherent to the solution of the conflict. We trust that the two examples given here, where the narcissistic investments of the body and of the intellectual activities intersecrete and organize themselves differently in function of the Oedipus conflict, sufficiently illustrate what it is wished to demonstrate. In Hubert, as in Cécile in fact, we have observed the evolutive filiation and the regressive movement which unite "the body-instrument and the intellectual instrument". In one as in the other the value of source of pleasure of the said instruments, a source at first not well differentiated and then crystallized into a privileged zone: the penis, attributed to the virile identificatory imago, seems clearly decipherable through the clinical annotations we have made. However, the prior organization of the conflicts, the existence of which is proved by the identificatory possibilities maintained in Cécile and seriously blocked in Hubert, has induced very different ways of solution of the conflicts re-emerging in the period of adolescence.

In Hubert, the intellectual activities remain over-invested, strictly symbolic of his bodily instruments, devaluated, profoundly negated. Hubert, in fact, in his disquieting passivity, allows himself to live as if completely impotent, castrated, in absolute dependence on another who alone could give him a meaning and construct him, or build him up, as happens with a very

young child, for whom only the presence of the mother is guarantee of consistence and life. In Cécile, the negation is less deep-reaching, the imagos remain differentiated; as woman, or girl, she refuses herself; as intelligent person she can strictly make use of what she possesses, although feeling the need to devalue it a little, nevertheless maintaining an unconscious identification with the imago of the father. In other words, if for Cécile the importance of the narcissistic investments is evident and "functional" in the struggle against the Oedipus conflict, her objectual investments nonetheless remain alive and relatively felt, her depressive state is real but not disaggregating and allows a relatively easy mobilization during the therapeutical relationship. For Hubert, on the contrary, the poverty of the identificatory imagos and the poor quality of the objectual investments lead to an over-investment and to a renunciation such as not to be able to do anything else but induce a narcissistic and objectual haemorrhage. His depression is profound, although slightly felt, and the sole possibility remaining to him consists in a gloomy and deeply regressive passivity, in the renunciation of any individuation; he commits, it seems to us, a long and silent suicide. Finally, the behavioural differences of the respective parents of the adolescents cannot fail to bear down heavily on the possibility of evolution of their children, and contribute to the radical difference of prognosis made for the two subjects. It seems to us from what has been said so far that justification can be found for our hypotheses as to the interpretation to be given to the manipulation of the body and of the intellectual instruments by adolescents. The psychoanalytical theory of the development of the child and of the organization of the psyche seems to us to give proof of the methods of unconscious integration of the corporeal and instrumental experience and of their organization by each individual. The body is an instrument of knowledge and relation between others and ourselves, remaining always a source of pleasure from which the other (the object) is never excluded, even during auto-erotic activities. In the same way,

the intellectual capacities are an instrument of knowledge, of relations with others and of pleasure, auto-erotic and hetero-erotic. In the structuralization of the conflicts, the investments of one's own person and of objects are organized into a series of variously overtoned and mobile equilibria in which, according to the need of defence against the anxiety inherent in such conflicts, sometimes the narcissistic investments have the upper hand and sometimes the objectual investments. The economic unbalance in favour of the narcissistic investment impedes the relational possibilities and impoverishes its structuralizing value when it is heavy and characterized by rigid defences. When the weight of the counter-investments is such as to induce a too-heavy construction on the investments and to limit in a too strict way the path of the objectual pulsational discharges, the evolutive possibilities are considerably reduced. The organization and keeping of such equilibrium, it is well understood, are induced by the aleas of the development, just as they are to a great extent influenced by the way in which the parents invest their children, bring them into their own conflicts and how they behave with them. In favourable cases, the investments and the counter-investments are not massive and their very flexibility allows a relative neutralization of the intellectual activities, i.e., a possibility of manipulation of the said instruments experienced as far from the conflict; in the contrary case, the intellectual or bodily possibilities are the object of more or less serious inhibitions; inhibitions which, in turn, unfavourably modify the equilibrium of the relations existing between the individual himself and his environment.

The period of adolescence, because of the readjustment of the fantasy of the body, due to its evident sexualization, implies a state of crisis, a break of the pre-existent equilibrium. From the point of view of objectual investments, the re-activation of particularly intense kind of the Oedipus conflict and of the ways of identification causes an intensifying of the narcissistic investments, in an attempt at refusal of the imagos and at negation of the conflict. In their turn, these narcissis-

sistic investments are highly conflictualized and are generators of anxiety because of their strict though unconscious dependence in respect of the imagos. The identity of adolescents — that is to say the fantasy-pictures they make of themselves in respect of what they are — is in fact strictly confused with the imagos. There follows a depressive state more or less serious depending on the quality of the economic unbalance between the investments and the tolerance of the subject and of the environment vis-à-vis the regression and the behaviour patterns resulting from it: for example, the hyper-affirmation of oneself through categoric and distinct positions, which are simply expressions of the wish for seduction, dominion and possession, just as are the innumerable types of "shocking" dress, that union of dirt and seduction, the use of extreme and vulgar language, the various behaviour disturbances, the lability of character reactions, their variety, etc. Of the same order of things, but of a very different hue, are the ideological positions and the need to meet together in groups characteristic of these young subjects. These latter, in effect, imply an evolutive possibility thanks to the seed of sublimation that such positions contain. The different ways of behaving, on the one hand regressive on the other more directly structuralizing, are so many transcriptions of attempts to give a solution to the unconscious conflicts; also, they mask the fear of depression and depression itself, always latent in the crisis of adoles-

cence, even in states that cannot be included in any known nosographic entity and the pathological character of which may not be apparent, as we trust has been shown.

We add, to conclude, that the explicit or implicit reactions, conscious or blind, of adults in respect of the said behaviours depend on the way in which the adults themselves resolve their own unconscious conflicts. And this cannot fail to help in organizing, developing or attenuating the difficulties of adolescents and their possible aberrated conduct, in a kind of spiral induction process that can never receive sufficient attention.

It may be hoped that a deeper knowledge of what adolescents — by means of their bodily and intellectual behaviour — wish to express to the adults, although prohibiting themselves from doing it, will allow all those having responsible activity in respect of these young subjects to break the vicious circle of action and reaction, and thus to encourage a harmonious continuance of their evolution.

This is why we have thought that a contribution based on psychoanalytic theory may be of some usefulness for educators, sociologists, pedagogues, etc. - all those, in short, who are dedicated to various disciplines whose aim is to contribute to a harmonious development of the individual, both by means of the disciplines with which they are concerned and by means of the identificatory possibilities that they offer the adolescents who surround them.

Translation from the original text in French, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY ON ADOLESCENCE IN THREE DIFFERENT CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS

by H. Boutourline Young



The lecturer Mr. H. Boutourline Young, M.D., Chairman of Harvard Florence Research Project.

Every human being is unique. Nevertheless, as in the case of identical twins, this uniqueness is sometimes threatened. Yet, scrutiny of the individuals shows that such identity is less than supposed. Although it has been shown that identical twins may have similar diseases and may indeed be similar in behaviour to the extent of undergoing mental breakdown under similar circumstances, it is becoming clear that twins reared in very different and even in similar circumstances may differ to the extent that every separate human characteristic may vary according to the proportions of inherited characteristics and environmental moulding that may together contribute towards final expression.

A human being in his physical and mental growth and health, in his attitudes and behaviour, is the sum of his separate characteristics. Each of these depends on inheritance and is affected by environment. For example, as regards intelligence, there is evi-

dence that this is determined from 65% - 80% by inheritance (1). It has been shown, but not widely advertised, that in respect of demonstrated intelligence, adopted children, as they grow older, become more and more like their real parents in contrast to their adopted parents (2). In respect of such a variable as achievement, it would appear that the influence from the environment is greater (3).

Inheritance is important, but knowing that the dynamics of each human variable or characteristic from total body height to the possibility of being original or even having high achievement needs may be different, it becomes important to ascertain how much each variable is affected by heredity and environment respectively and then how the environment may be so manipulated as to carry the variable, or aspect of each human being, to its full potential. If attention may be given to sufficiently significant variables, the whole present equation of investments

and human productivity — and happiness — may be radically changed for the better, at least in theory.

Each human being is the sum of his characteristics but each characteristic may vary in its development

The dynamics may vary from those determined almost entirely by inheritance such as eye colour, to those apparently affected largely by the environment such as attitudes towards transgression.

Let us take the example of human body height. This characteristic increases until the late teens but the *peak velocity* occurs in the foetus at about four months. Thereafter velocity steadily decreases until at puberty there is another but much smaller peak.

Growth characteristics such as height are most sensitive to environment stress at the points of maximum velocity. Thus height should be affected by adverse influences maximally while the infant is still within the womb and decreasingly so until six years of age when the velocity has dropped from more than 20 cm a year at birth to about 5 cm a year. However, except in the extremes of adverse circumstances, the placenta and later breast milk, offer protection so that the environment may become dangerous, insofar as its nutritional component is concerned, in the post-weaning period. Again at puberty, when peak velocity may increase to 10 cm a year, the environment has more power to hurt.

Let us take another human characteristic with a much later peak velocity: performance on intelligence tests. Performance on Raven's Progressive Matrices is similar to height in that approximately maximum levels seem to be attained towards the end of the second decade, but unlike height the point of maximum velocity occurs somewhat after 10 years (4). The criticism may be made that this point may be determined to some extent by the acquired skills of reading or writing. Let us then take a third variable: haemoglobin levels in males.

Here there is a marked increase in velocity at the time of puberty when the male, unlike the female, increases his haemoglobin level from 13 gms to 16 gms/100 ml of blood.

It is evident that each variable has its own rhythm. What is common to the three characteristics I have presented is that they have focal points within the age period which interests us today; that is the second decade of life.

Now I would like to describe a ten-year study in which more than three hundred boys were followed from late childhood through their teens until their early twenties.

Before embarking upon such a description, it may be useful to review some past research work upon the growth and development of young people.

A secular trend in humans of increasing height and weight has been repeatedly demonstrated in children (5) and in adults (6). It has also been shown that young adult males are taller than their fathers (7). Lundman (8) has observed a steady increase of stature in army recruits in Scandinavian countries.

It has also been shown that although the secular trend in the United States is tending to narrow the growth stature differences between groups of individuals of diverse ethnic origin substantial differences in physical measurements still exist (9).

The effects of sudden unfavourable environmental conditions upon growth in the Russian famine have been described (10), effects of poverty in Scotland (11) and some results of the German occupation of Belgium (12).

Effects of climate upon growth have been discussed by Mills (13). A review of such findings with an extensive bibliography and discussion has been made by Tanner (14). Acheson (15) has also reviewed effects of nutrition and disease.

Authors describing increases in physical measurements with changing

environmental conditions have ascribed such results to generally better hygienic conditions, diet, climate, etc., but work confirming these interpretations and their relative importance is still awaited.

The type of research most fruitful in the past and most likely to be fruitful in the future for elucidating the reasons for such changes consists of studies upon migrants and their offspring. The first that we have found to take advantage of this natural experiment was Fishberg (16) who demonstrated that Jews in the United States were taller than those born in Europe and a fundamental study was that of Boas (17) who described physical differences apparently caused by modification of growth in a changed environment. These findings were contested by Morant and Samson (18) but Guthe (19), Hirsch (20) and Franzblau (21) all confirmed the results of the original authors.

Similar studies upon Japanese subjects by Iyenaga and Sato (22) demonstrate that 7-16 year old Japanese in a number of Californian schools were larger than children of comparable ages in Japan. Spier (23) compared Japanese children in Seattle with those in Japan and found those resident in America to be taller and larger on some measurements. Suski (24) showed that U.S. born Japanese boys exceeded the means published by the Japanese Ministry of Education in height, weight, chest circumference and leg length. Ito (25) compared American born women of Japanese descent with similar subjects who returned to Japan when young. Those remaining in America exceeded in size those who returned to Japan and to an even greater extent those who were born in Japan.

Another fundamental study is that of Shapiro (26) who examined Japanese immigrants to Hawaii, their children, and relatives born and residing in Japan, in all 2,500 subjects. Hawaiian born exceeded the immigrants in height and length of trunk. These differences were more marked when comparison was with the group residing in Japan. Lasker (27) examined

U.S. born Chinese and compared them with Chinese immigrants; he found in the former greater stature and an increase in all measurements highly correlated with stature. Kaplan (28) gave a full account of the body, of knowledge up to that time, concerning physical changes in migrants and their offspring. Greulich (29) in a recent study of 898 American born children of Japanese descent in California has found, in comparison with those born and resident in Japan (official Japanese data), substantial differences in height, and sitting height from 5 to 18 years. At every age considered the U.S. born Japanese boys exceeded in stature the boys of today in Japan by an amount greater than the increases in that country in the past 50 years. The skeletal status of the American born Japanese children was similar to that of Cleveland white children of superior socio-economic status of the Brush Foundation Study, on which the Greulich-Pyle standards of skeletal development are based, in contrast to the relative retardation in skeletal development of Japanese children (30). Hulse (31) demonstrated a number of physical differences between Italo-Swiss, born in the U.S.A., Italo-Swiss migrants and sedentes in the Swiss Canton of Ticino.

Some of the earlier research workers had suggested that the repeatedly confirmed physical differences demonstrated in these studies might be due to a physical selection of migrants. Goldstein (32), who also reported that U.S. born children of immigrants from Mexico exceed the immigrants in total body height and other measurements, presented some evidence of difference in size between immigrants and sedentes. However, he declared that the evidence was not conclusive. Lasker (33) reported that a group of immigrants from a Mexican town differed physically from those left behind but only in the case of those not fully grown (under the age of 27) when they left home. He ruled out physical selection as a major factor which might explain the differences. Martin (34), however, had observed that migrants in Great Britain from one part of the country to another were taller than sedentes,

and Hulse (35) noted that Swiss migrating after their army service were a mean of 1.7 cm taller than those still living in Switzerland 25 years later. On present evidence we must agree with Lasker that physical selection appears to be but a minor factor in the explanation of the physical differences which have been described.

Another factor which has been considered is heterosis or hybrid vigour.

Trevor (36) did not find such evidence in a large sample but Penrose (37) considers this may have been due to the parents being insufficiently homozygous. Hulse (38) has demonstrated clearly that there is an increase on a number of physical measurements in children of exogenous marriages both of sedentes in Switzerland and of migrants in California when they are compared with the offspring of endogenous marriages. It seems therefore that any experiment involving measurements of migrants and their descendants which includes subjects from small isolated villages of less than 1,000, as in Ticino, should take this factor into account.

It would seem that the human phenotypes most subject to adaptive change are those influenced by the actions of several genes. Hulse (39) considers that characters of which the mode of inheritance is relatively simple, such as eye colour, blood type, abnormal haemoglobins, show no plasticity under changing environmental conditions; other characters agreed to be complex in their mode of inheritance may show considerable response. For example, skin pigmentation, now known to be the result of the action of several genes, also responds to alteration in the environment (40).

Given the ignorance of the relative importance of the environment factors which produce such physical plasticity it is evident that we are at the beginning of studies to elucidate their mechanism. Aspects of psychic development have as yet hardly been touched. Klineberg (41) has studied performance in intelligence tests in various racial and national groups and demonstrated that most of the con-

clusions based upon such work confined to the United States could not be substantiated. One early study which examined intelligence in descendants of migrants was by Franzblau (42) who demonstrated a significant increase in performance in the descendants of Danish immigrants and discussed the cause as a probable selection of immigrants or perhaps as an effect of environment.

It seemed to us that a study which might make further progress in this field should have some or all of the following characteristics:

a) the subjects in both cultures should all derive from a limited area, characterized by a defined homogeneity, in the mother country; migrants should derive if possible from village units of not less than three thousand population in order to reduce possible effects of subsequent exogenous marriages;

b) the subjects should be children and their parents;

c) in addition to the control group of sedentes, there should be a second control group of those who migrated from the original area to elsewhere within the mother country;

d) the children should be examined over several years during a period of active growth in order that increments of growth might be examined to obtain a better understanding of the mechanisms involved. The choice of age groups of such children would thus be limited to the period from birth to five years or the period from 11 to 16 comprising the puberal growth spurt in boys or some one to two years earlier in girls. If an adolescent group is studied it should be carried to termination of physical growth in height;

e) physical examination should be thorough enough to assess present state of physical health and a record should be made of past and present influences upon health for each individual;

f) features of psychic growth should not be neglected as in the past. It

appears possible that aspects of such growth, for example intelligence, are determined by several genes and that therefore a certain plasticity might be anticipated here also; there would be an advantage in examining the children for several successive years not with constant instruments as in measurements of physical growth, given the difficulty of assessing increments in psychic growth and to avoid learning effects on a particular test, but with a variety of instruments with repetition sufficient to give evidence of reliability;

g) given the well attested relationship between socio-economic class and physical growth (43) and between socio-economic class and certain aspects of psychic development (44) and also intelligence levels (45) a method of socio-economic classification should be developed which would be good for both cultures under consideration. Initial analysis should be made with comparable socio-economic groups. Only if vertical analysis between socio-economic groups within each sample demonstrates that social class has no effect upon variables should that variable then be utilized for comparison between one total cultural sample and the other, account being taken of age;

h) at the same time greater efforts should be made to understand and describe aspects of family life, local and general culture so that those aspects held in common might be cancelled out and the gross differences reserved for testing as to their possible influence in producing change in the subjects.

In 1956 we obtained the opportunity of assessing physical and mental growth and health for three or four successive years in several hundred adolescent and pre-adolescent boys, all with four grandparents from the same limited geographical zone of Southern Italy, but living in markedly different cultures. The cultures were those of the United States and Italy.

The origins of the grandparents were six Southern Italian regions of Sicily, Calabria, Lucania, Puglia, Campania

and Abruzzi. These regions have been demonstrated to be similar in various respects and as a group to differ from the rest of Italy. Together with Sardinia they form the economically depressed South. The heights and weights of army recruits have been shown to be fairly homogenous and markedly less than the rest of Italy (46); similar observations have been made upon the growth of children (47). From what is known of distribution of blood groups gene frequency of A, B, and Rh D are also fairly homogenous and differ from the rest of Italy (48); there was also some evidence that the incidence of colour blindness differed from the rest of Italy.

A further advantage was the relative largeness of the village units. Communes of less than 3000 inhabitants are infrequent and there is a marked tendency for those cultivating the land to live in the village.

This opportunity seemed unique and in 1957, with financial support from the Grant Foundation, selection of the boys commenced.

We selected boys from Boston (American born boys with four grandparents from the accepted zone), Rome (Italian born boys with four grandparents from the accepted zone but whose families had emigrated from the South to Rome), Palermo (Italian born boys with four grandparents from the accepted zone and whose families had remained there).

We had a number of hypotheses:

a) because of better nutrition the American boys would be taller and heavier and reach puberty earlier and the increased weight would be made up by increased amounts of fat, muscle and bone;

b) that there would be a difference in results on physical fitness tests (Italian superior to American) as observed by Kraus and Hirschland (49), Kraus (50), but that this would be made for body fat;

c) American children would be less

closely affiliated with their families and correspondingly less secure;

d) American children would be more independent and more aggressive because of differing family practices and differences in cultural norms for behaviour in children;

e) American children would be more "civic minded" because of cultural norms and the character of formal education;

f) because of better nutrition American children would have a generally higher level of physical health except in certain respects such as dental caries.

It was expected that incidental findings during the study would generate a number of additional hypotheses.

It was fundamental that the boys should be comparable in a number of important respects.

Subjects

More than 300 boys whose grandparents were all born in the South of Italy, divided in three groups of approximately 100 each, residing respectively in Palermo, Rome and Boston, were studied from age 10-13 until age 20-23. The Palermo group has stayed in its city of origin while the families of the Rome and Boston groups migrated from their native towns an average of 23 and 60 years ago respectively.

In general the samples of boys were obtained from various schools and other agencies in order to be as representative as possible of the populations concerned.

Genetic factors have been found to be similar as expressed by the relative prevalence of O, A, AB, B and Rh blood groups and colour blindness, the prevalence of left lateral dominance, taste sensibility to phenyl-theo-carbamide, colour of eyes and hair, all factors known to be genetically determined.

The major variables of intelligence

and socio-economic class were measured by appropriate instruments and it was shown that the populations were similar in these respects. The intelligence variable was measured by Raven's Progressive Matrices (51) and other tests (52), which were adapted especially for this research. The socio-economic variable was measured by means of an instrument based on prestige of father's occupation, years of father's schooling and conditions of the home.

Scrutiny of initial refusals to join the study and of subsequent drop-outs does not suggest that these elements were the cause of significant bias. In fact all 120 of the originally selected boys in Palermo were recently re-examined. Experience in Boston has been similar where in 96 subjects there has been only one loss - by death. In Rome there has been one loss by death and one by refusal and there are two young men still to be examined.

The difficulties of sustaining such a study should not be under-estimated. Many families have changed their residence and some their cities. One Rome subject migrated to Canada but was flown down from a mining town near the Arctic circle to Toronto where he was examined by me last year.

Methods

With some assurance as to the comparability of the samples, we were then able to make a series of measurements at regular intervals and to assume that any difference in a single variable between the groups would be due to the effects of the environment.

The measurements made were:

1. *Anthropometric*: weight, height, sitting height, arm and leg lengths, by-condilar diameters of humerus and femur, skin folds in 7 sites, biacromial and biocrestal diameters, circumferences of arm, calf and thorax, cranial length and width.

A measure of reliability was obtained

for both observers and instruments in these and other observations.

2. *Physical*: a complete examination, including special senses, teeth, urine, blood and detailed endocrinological examination. From the latter was derived an estimate of puberal maturity based, as described, on testicular volume and pubic and axillary hair.

3. *Physiological*: hand strength, Harvard Step test.

4. *Psychological*: interviews with subjects and their parents and a battery of psychological tests including achievement orientation, moral values and creativity.

5. House visits and questionnaires to parents.

The subjects mostly had five examinations over the course of ten years and as stated losses have been small.

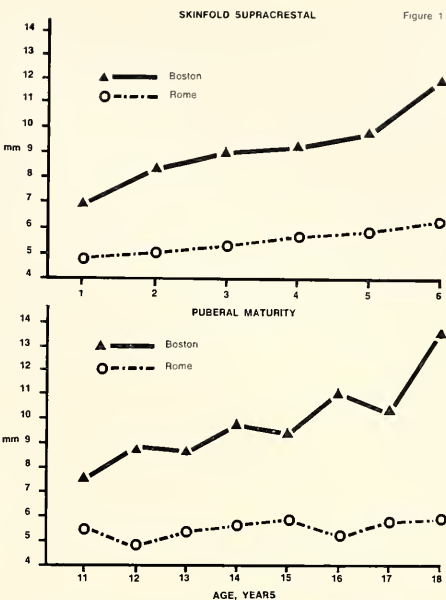
Let us now look at some of the results of the study.

In an extensive study of this kind not more than a fraction of the results may be presented within the present limits of time - we have therefore selected some aspects of physical and mental growth and health.

Anthropological measurements reflecting body composition

Analysis of measurements against puberal maturity rather than chronological age has the effect of reducing the variability to the extent that growth phenomena are more easily understood (53). I shall present one figure to illustrate this and, the point having been made, then present the rest of the data against puberal maturity only.

Figure 1 presents the skinfold supra-crestal data in Boston and Rome by puberal maturity and chronological age. The Rome and Palermo graphs are practically identical in this as in some other measurements. We are therefore presenting Rome only as representative of the Italian resident group in these first slides. Please



note the reduction of variability in the puberal maturity graph, moderate initial differences and the increasing differences in fat levels between the groups as maturity progresses.

The differences are tripled between the first phase of puberty and late adolescence.

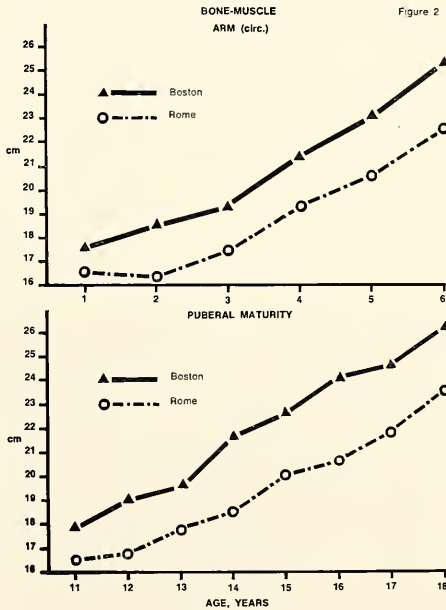


Figure 2 shows the fat free circumference of the arm. Again one sees that

the greater amount of bone-muscle in the Boston boys is increased following maturation.

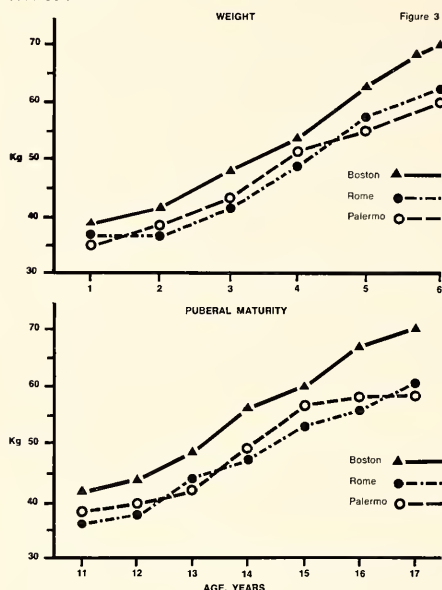


Figure 3 presents the data for body weight in Boston, Rome and Palermo. As previously stated, the Rome-Palermo data are seen to be similar.

These three figures are the result of cross sectional analysis. I now present two more graphs analysed in terms of increments, thus making adequate use of the longitudinal approach.

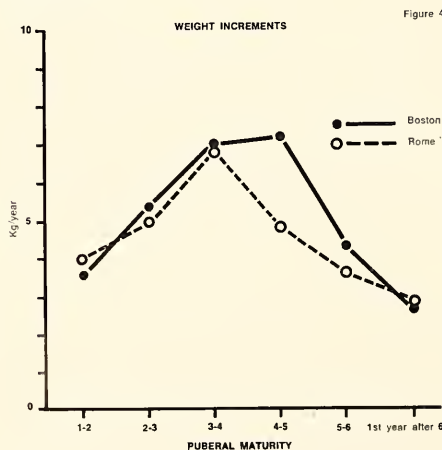


Figure 4 shows the body weight increments for Boston and Rome, and we may note the puberal stages where there are marked differences.

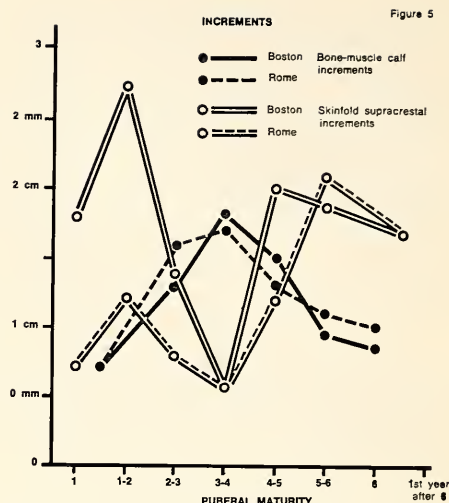


Figure 5 presents the increments of supracrestal fat which confirm the previous figure - the trend is bimodal in both centres but much greater in the Boston group in prepuberty and late puberty at which the fatter Boston population becomes vulnerable. Increments in bone muscle are also presented.

We observed the following differences in key environmental variables: the Boston group had somewhat more total protein and the proportion of animal protein was much higher (69 g/day against 46 g/day) during adolescence. Furthermore, in Boston extra protein feeding was started at a much earlier age (five months versus twelve months). The Boston boys habitually exercised 50% less as measured by pedometers and slept half an hour more per day.

It is of interest to note that the dip in fat velocity is accompanied by a rise in bone muscle index.

Before proceeding to a discussion of health, I would like to dwell for a few more minutes on why the anthropological data were presented against phases of development rather than chronological age. Table 1 which presents haemoglobin levels, shows clearly that during the phases of physical development during the second decade of life, the variability is reduced and the phenomena more clearly

TABLE 1

Haemoglobin in males (g./100 ml.)
540 Florentine subjects

Chronological age		Puberal Maturity					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
11	\bar{X} n.	13.5 52	13.4 27	(13.5) 6			
12	\bar{X} n.	13.3 12	13.6 44	13.8 25	(14.4) 3		
13	\bar{X} n.		13.8 26	13.9 46	14.7 20		
14	\bar{X} n.		(14.2) 10	13.9 21	14.5 35	15.1 16	
15	\bar{X} n.			(14.6) 4	14.3 24	15.0 35	(15.2) 4
16	\bar{X} n.			(14.1) 2	(14.9) 6	14.8 32	15.6 31
17	\bar{X} n.				(13.8) 2	15.0 11	15.7 37
18	\bar{X} n.						15.7 9

understood if the data are plotted against phase of development rather than chronological age. This is because young people vary a great deal in their age of commencing development.

Thus, an early developing boy, already physically mature at 15, may require iron treatment for his blood if his haemoglobin is only 13 gms, while this figure is perfectly normal for a late developer of the same age.

Appropriate methods exist for the accurate estimate of phases of physical maturity and this is a necessary procedure in the assessment of a person during puberty and adolescence (54).

It is important to remember that at the age of 15 one may find boys who are already men in their physical development and also other boys who have barely commenced the physical changes; these late developing boys are still children and their physical development will not be complete until the late teens.

The studies which I am presenting today are concerned with boys and it may be appropriate, before proceed-

ing further, to add a few words on girls.

Girls come to puberty about two years ahead of boys, but again here there is a wide variation so that an early maturing boy *may* be more precocious than a late maturing girl of the same chronological age.

Both girls and boys have been reaching puberty progressively earlier over the past century and in a number of recent studies the mean age of menarche in girls was found to be under thirteen years (55).

In boys the growth spurt in height is somewhat more intense and longer, accounting in part for the adult sex differences. The remaining difference is mainly accounted for by the extra two years of growth which boys have enjoyed before the self limiting adolescent spurt begins. However, at all ages, adolescence included, the growth of girls seems less affected by stress such as illness or poor nutrition.

Our own observations (56) agree with those of others (57) that plumpness or endomorphy appears to be associated

with earlier maturation. There is also some evidence (58) that lean spare subjects, scoring high on linearity, tend to arrive later at puberty although in our limited series we could not confirm this. McNeill and Livson (59) have demonstrated endomorphy or plumpness as the major predictor of early maturation. Our own early maturers tended to be fatter throughout development and less linear as adults.

After the age of 8 the measured skin folds of girls increase until maturity. This is in contrast to boys where there is a decrease in the width of skin folds on the limbs during adolescence. There is a divergence between the sexes after early puberty in bone and muscle. After this point the relatively small sex differences in strength and co-ordination become much more marked.

It is now possible to predict fairly accurately at the age of 8 the adult height of a person and such predictions are of potential value where height is attached to an occupation involving long training (e.g. ballerinas). Bayley's prediction tables (60) involve consideration of actual height, actual age and skeletal age. If practicable methods were available for slowing down height, the methods would be of considerable value in dealing with the problem of very tall girls.

Oestrogens have been used for the purpose of attempting to suppress excessive growth in girls but Bayley, Gordon, Bayer, Goldberg and Storment (61) appear to have demonstrated that there is no significant difference between mature height after treatment and that previously predicted. Oestrogen treatment accelerated the rate of skeletal maturation and since there was no change in predicted height the hormone must also have increased the rate of linear growth proportionately.

The secular change in puberal maturity

Girls have been reaching menarche more than three months earlier with each decade during the past 100 years

in Western Europe. There is some evidence that the fall is less in the more privileged social classes. Whitehead (62), cited by Tanner (63), observed social class differences of more than one year, whereas in our own work no significant social class differences were seen. Under stable economic circumstances there is a high correlation between time of arrival at menarche of mothers and daughters. Observation of the mean age of menarche of subjects and their mothers in relation to social mobility has shown a relationship between upward social mobility and a relative lowering of menarchal age in the daughters (64). The reporting by mothers is not very reliable being retrospective and possibly subject to systematic distortion in different social groups, but our results, together with those of others demonstrating significant social class differences in time of arrival at menarche (65) do support the nutrition-hygiene hypothesis for the progressive lowering in the age of menarche.

There is some evidence that in the more privileged social classes menarche is more likely to occur early in the course of the development of secondary sexual characteristics.

The accuracy of recorded age at menarche has been discussed by Livson and McNeill (66) who conclude that there may be expected an error of six months after an interval of 15-20 years. Evidence from a limited longitudinal study of Florentine girls supports this (67). Livson suggests that accuracy may be increased by improved questioning techniques.

Menarche comes later to girls in families where there are many children (68). This may be purely an economic effect although the reasons are not yet clear.

Climate and race and menarche

A review of the evidence suggests that climate has little effect upon growth or maturation (69). Ellis (70) reports menarche in economically privileged Nigerian girls as 14.3 years.

With regard to race, there is some evidence (71) that there may be differences not accounted for by economic circumstances, but it is difficult to separate the respective influences of race and body shape, already referred to as associated with time of arrival at menarche.

Seasonal variation

Both girls and boys grow more in height in the spring and more in weight in the autumn, but there are wide individual differences, some children and adolescents fluctuating very little with season and others not corresponding to the general pattern. Valsik (72) reports two peaks of increased incidence of menarche; one in July-September and the other, less marked, at mid winter. He also reports a retarding effect of altitude upon menarche, but it is not clear if socio-economic factors have been controlled.

Menstrual symptoms, socio cultural factors and age of arrival at menarche

It has been hypothesized that socio cultural factors may so affect attitudes as to lead to markedly differing prevalence of dysmenorrhea in different environments. Our own unpublished observations have failed to support this, but instead show an increased prevalence of dysmenorrhea in the precocious girls. At least in the two cultures of Italy and the United States, the late developers appear to accept menarche as a gift, while those who arrive early demonstrate a tendency to attach symptoms to the function. If this work is confirmed, it may be helpful in indicating to school health educators where one of their investments should be.

Health: orthopaedic defects and dental caries

Returning to the cross-cultural study, I would now like to look at two health disorders, orthopaedic defects and dental caries, both of which have high prevalence and incidence in this age range. I shall discuss data for Boston

and *both* Italian centres as there are some internal differences.

Only three of the more common orthopaedic defects have been chosen for discussion.

The first of these is prevalence of flat feet. There were dramatic group differences. Before puberty the prevalence was much higher in Italy and at maturity the situation was reversed. We believe that this reversal may be due to the steady increase in fatness of the Boston subjects, cancelling their initial advantage presumably due to a more effective musculature.

The second is the presence of winged scapulae. The high prevalence of this disorder in all cultural groups is reduced to a common level of about 10% by maturity. We think that the differences between the American and Italian subjects during the course of maturation are due to the differences in muscle mass and tone and to the fat layer which obscures the disorder in the former group.

The third is the situation in respect to kyphosis. Here there was an initial and continuing superiority of the American resident group, related perhaps to their increased amount of muscle. On the other hand the Italian subjects spend many hours stooped over text books to meet the demands of the heavy school curriculum.

These longitudinal observations, in addition to showing group differences, have the additional value of giving us some idea of the natural history of these disorders during adolescence.

The situation with regard to dental caries in the three groups Boston, Rome and Palermo at ages 14 and 18 or over — shows considerable superiority in the Italian resident group, Palermo being healthier than Rome. This superiority is partly reduced by maturity, but the differences are still significant. Possible reasons have been discussed by us in published work (73). To summarize, the Italian group consume much more fruit especially after meals and much less candy and sugar.

It is interesting to note, that there is significantly more gingivitis in the Italian boys. They brush their teeth much less than the Boston subjects. It may be inferred, on the other hand, that tooth brushing has little effect on the prevalence of dental caries.

In physical growth and health we see changes in body composition presumably related to nutrition, as there were no marked differences in history of illness; these changes may not be for the best where extra fat is concerned and the extra bone and muscle does not confer all the advantages to be expected as seen in the high incidence of flat feet in Boston. Interestingly the extra bone and muscle conferred only slight advantages in respect of dynamometer performance and there were no differences in respect of cardiovascular endurance as reflected in the Harvard Step test, possibly due to the greater amounts of fat carried by the American born boys.

In contrast to the results on growth and health, the conclusions emerging from the application of psychological tests and especially those resulting from measures of personality variables such as moral values and creativity, are less clear-cut but in some ways more challenging, for they lead us into a field which opens up new knowledge.

Our interest in moral values has been prompted by the increasing importance of personal controls over behaviour under rapidly changing world conditions (74).

We have used two tests of moral values. One is an instrument devised by Torgoff from Banfield's concept of amoral familism. An amoral familist applies moral standards of right and wrong only to those behaviours relevant to and affecting his immediate family. Interactions outside the family are evaluated not in terms of moral criticism but in regard to self interest and private advantage. In this test there were no significant differences between the Boston and Rome groups. Thus this procedure exploring general

moral orientation indicates essential equivalence between the two centres.

The second instrument presented the subject with transgressions in a variety of situations and thus had the advantage of allowing a more differentiated understanding of moral orientation: in each of the various items \$ 3 or its equivalent is stolen; the answers were given anonymously, and the boy might readily identify with the protagonist.

These results do show certain interesting differences between our groups. The Italian resident subjects tend to show greater tolerance towards transgression than the Boston subjects. It seems that the subjects retain their attitudes through to maturity. At this point the Boston boys were even more severe and the Rome subjects a little more tolerant than previously. What is of particular interest about these findings however is that the greater tolerance of the Rome group is manifested mainly in those situations where the theft could be seen as reasonable or justifiable in terms of human need: that the tolerance of the Rome group is not simply a greater willingness to condone dishonesty can be seen in the fact that where the transgression occurred wilfully, unreasonably or arbitrarily, the Rome group was as condemnatory as the Boston group and in some cases even more so.

This kind of difference in moral orientation reminds one of the work of Hoffman and Saltzstein (75) where a group of subjects who had a "humanistic" moral orientation was compared with a group whose outlook was of the conventional punitive type. In discussing these results Hoffman (76) notes the tendency in the humanistic group to be tolerant in the presence of extenuating circumstances and of the conventional group not to take circumstances into account but to judge according to convention and authority. Current work under way at our centre is directed toward identifying those factors in the different cultural environments which may account for the observed differences in moral orientation.

As regards creativity, the value of the original creative person as opposed to the merely competent is being recognized increasingly in terms of the contribution that such an individual can make to the development and enrichment of the community in which he lives. Such considerations prompted Guilford and Merrifield (77), and others in their search for adequate instruments to measure creativity. These were further refined and validated on large groups of creative individuals, architects, writers, scientists and mathematicians by Barron (78) and his colleagues. From these tests we selected eight which had been shown to examine certain aspects of creativity.

From the table of the results in Boston and Rome, the Rome group scored consistently higher, that is more creative, in all tests. The raw scores were converted to standard scores and an analysis of variance was performed on equal numbers chosen at random from Rome and Boston. This analysis shows a significant difference between the two centres ($F = 29.5$). Obviously these tests measure only a fraction of what is implied in the concept of creativity: how far one may generalise from these procedures and what environmental factors may account for our findings are questions which are also currently under study.

Other aspects of psychological development are the needs and presses expressed in fantasy. These characteristics may be measured by a technique of McClelland (79). For example, studies of need achievement (n-ach) in the United States have shown a relationship with social class, that is the less privileged the subject, the less n-ach could be demonstrated. We have confirmed this in a study of our subjects in Palermo. However the Rome and Boston subjects, both emigrant groups, did not show the steady relationship with social class. In Boston the middle group scored higher than either those more or less privileged. In Rome the middle group scored less than the two extremes. These data suggest that previously discovered relationships between social status and a-

chievement motivations obtain only in certain kinds of communities and that in particular much more needs to be found out about recent immigrant groups. The areas of Milan and Turin should be fertile fields for such studies.

With regard to the total need-achievement scores in the three centres, the level is Boston, Rome, Palermo in that order. The same relationship holds for need-aggression and need-civic mindedness. There is an opposite situation for press fear worry where the order is Palermo, Rome, Boston.

These differences suggest that the Boston group feel more free to express impulses especially aggression and are lower in anxiety. The correlates of need-achievement for the Boston sample present a coherent picture. The subjects who express higher achievement motivation also show evidence of more positive self-concepts (both in fantasy and in the personal interviews) and higher vocational aspirations and describe themselves as less anxious. They are also more civic-minded.

There is a great contrast in the Rome group. Need-achievement is related to the expression of dependency needs, to high anxiety, to negative self concepts and to interviewers' judgments of low aggressiveness.

It is our hope to obtain further information in our now adult subjects upon presses and needs expressed in fantasy in order to observe stability and change over the eight year period.

I would now like to refer in greater depth to the interviews when the subjects were young adolescents.

Interests

The boys in all three groups show a healthy interest in amusement and adventure. When asked what they like most in life, they mention amusement and adventure to an equal extent. Adventure novels are preferred by all groups, but especially in Palermo

(91 %); these boys are least likely to prefer books about sports and serious subjects. There are some minor differences in their preferences for films, probably related to availability: the Boston group especially like mysteries, the Rome group like romances and thrillers, the Palermo group like westerns. Sports are listed as their most important interest by about 50 % of the boys in all locations, but there are evidences that this is a stronger interest in Boston.

The Boston group are somewhat more likely to mention sporting figures as their most admired person, they are more likely to read books about sports and 30 % of them mention sports as what they like most in life. In response to this last question, more subjects in Palermo mention happy personal and family relationships, whereas the Roman boys are more likely to mention studies or work.

Telling jokes is most popular in Boston, least so in Palermo. The Boston subjects would rather tell jokes than listen to them, and some of their other interests seem a little more active: mechanics and constructions versus collections which are popular among Italian boys. A quarter to a third of all groups mention some historical figure as their most admired person. In addition to sporting figures, the Boston subjects tend to admire living politicians, whereas the Italian boys more often mention singers and actors. An interesting sidelight on political attitudes: *none* of the Palermo subjects mentions a living politician.

Asked about places where they would like to travel, 59 % of the Boston subjects choose Italy, whereas the choices of most of the Italian boys are equally divided between the U.S. and Europe.

Vocational Aspirations

When asked about career plans, about 50 % of all groups express aspirations in the highest category — professional and managerial jobs. The Boston subjects, however, are more likely

than the Italian boys to pick skilled manual jobs (21 % versus 3 % and 1 %) whereas the Italian subjects (40 % in Palermo and 32 % in Rome versus 15 % in Boston) are more likely to pick "white-collar" jobs — skilled clerical or technical.

The responses to the question about most preferred occupations parallel those for vocational plans: the Italian boys choose very heavily according to status, whereas the Boston boys distribute their choices pretty evenly between professional and skilled manual jobs. When they are asked about *disliked* occupations, however, things are turned around; the Boston subjects reject more low-status occupations, as we might expect, whereas the Italian boys still mention high-status jobs more frequently. The meaning may become clearer when we look at the relationship of these responses to achievement motivation on the Imagination Test and to fathers' occupations and parental vocational aspirations for their sons.

Most boys in all groups indicate liking the conditions and type of work as the main reason for preferring a given occupation, but the Boston subjects are somewhat more likely to choose a job because it seems interesting, whereas the Roman boys are more likely to indicate that their choice is based on feeling capable of doing the work. Most boys in all groups state that they will decide their own careers, but this is especially true in Boston (83 %), whereas in Rome 26 % say that the father or both parents will decide. More of the boys in Palermo indicate that their parents' choice of career for them is different from their own.

Academic interests and Progress

Among their school subjects, the boys in Boston tend to prefer mathematics and science and dislike English; this is a prevalent pattern among American high-school boys, but may reflect to some extent the use of Italian in some of their homes. The subjects in Rome are divided in their preferences for mathematics and science,

about equal proportions liking and disliking them; they tend to like history and dislike languages. The boys in Palermo also tend to like history, dislike mathematics and science and be split in their preferences for languages. We might infer that the Italian educational system tends to place a higher value on the "humanities" and to create more differentiated patterns of preference for humanities as against scientific subjects. Few boys in any group admit doing badly at school, but more subjects in Boston and fewer in Palermo report doing well rather than "average".

More subjects in Boston express positive attitudes towards school and studying. The Italian boys, especially in Rome, tend to report difficulties with a particular subject more frequently, and almost half of the subjects in Palermo say frankly that they dislike studying. These differences may be a function of the more demanding programs in the Italian schools.

There are some interesting differences in the ways that parents in the three locations are described as reacting to school failures. The Boston parents are described as about equally divided between scolding, constructive discussion of the problem and deprivation of privileges; certainly verbal exhortation is the predominant method here. The parents in Rome are reported as engaging in constructive discussion to about the same extent as in Boston, but they do more scolding and less depriving.

Palermo parents apparently also do a fair amount of scolding, they are less likely to engage in constructive discussion than the other groups and they have the highest incidence (11 %) of physical punishment. One of the most striking differences between the Boston subjects and both groups of Italian boys is in the qualities which they consider important in a teacher: the Boston boys tend to say "knowledge" whereas both the Rome and Palermo subjects much more frequently say "fairness". One gets the impression that the Italian boys, as a group, are more threatened by the possibility of school failure.

Affiliation

The responses to this group of questions suggest that the American boys are more wholeheartedly and indiscriminately sociable than their Italian counterparts. Almost all of the Boston subjects (96 %) say they like to have many friends, whereas about a third of the Italian boys prefer to have a few friends. The Bostonians also claim more friends; 39 % of them say they have more than 10 real friends. About 20 % of the Italian boys say they have no friends or only one, whereas only 2 % of the Boston boys give such a response.

Over half of the Boston group (57 %) would not like to eliminate any of the members of their class, whereas two thirds of the Italian boys would like to eliminate at least one or two. Most of the boys in all three groups say they prefer to play with friends; only in Palermo do an appreciable number (16 %) say they prefer to play alone, and 8 % of the Palermo subjects as against almost none in the other groups indicate that their parents would prefer them not to have friends. It may be that the Italian boys are freer to reject peers, as well as less sociable.

Handling aggression from peers

Most of the boys in all groups say that if a school friend hit them they would hit him back, but a fair number (27 %) of the Boston subjects say that they would handle the situation verbally, and a similar proportion say that their parents would expect such behaviour of them. However, more of the Boston boys say that their parents would expect them to hit back, whereas more of the Italian boys say their parents would expect them to ignore the aggression. Very few of the boys in any group say that they would be expected to appeal to adult authority, and none of them say they do so, but the highest frequency occurs in Palermo (8 %).

In general the boys in all three groups seem aware that their parents, while expecting them to handle such prob-

lems themselves, would favour a less aggressive response. The Boston subjects show signs of a somewhat greater social sophistication, whereas the Palermo subjects are perhaps the least mature.

Family relations

The Boston subjects seem to feel somewhat more freedom from parental control with respect to choice of career and mode of dress; there is no difference between the groups on choice of friends. The differences between Rome and Palermo are slight and inconsistent; more subjects in Rome say their parents will choose their career, but more in Palermo say they are not free to dress as they please. In all three groups, over half the subjects report that the father is the more severe parent, but more of the boys in Rome are likely to report both parents as equally severe (21%). Almost twice as many Italians as Boston subjects say that the father is the most important member of the family; 31% of the Boston subjects pick the mother and another 22% say that both parents are equally important. One gets the impression of a trend away from patriarchal and towards egalitarian family life in Boston, at least as the boys see it. Perhaps as a consequence, the boys in Boston seem closer to their fathers. 35% of Boston subjects say they prefer to spend time with their fathers, or their older brothers (21%), whereas a greater percentage of Italian boys choose to spend time with the mother; perhaps this is an indication of a firmer masculine identification among the Boston subjects.

All three groups say that they would entrust a secret to their father to about the same extent; the Boston subjects are more likely to pick the mother, whereas the Italian boys tend to pick a friend rather than a family member. In other ways, the Boston subjects seem to experience more positive relations with parents. 73% of them feel that adults usually understand them, whereas only about half of the Italian boys feel this way; 25% of the Palermo subjects feel they are

never understood by adults. When asked about occasions when they are praised, 42% of the boys in Palermo and 29% in Rome could not remember any, whereas practically all the Boston subjects reported some instance of praise. In all three groups, the boys are most often praised for good school performance, but a fair number of those in Boston also received praise for good deeds and non-scholastic accomplishments. Almost all in Palermo said they liked praise, whereas a few in Rome and a fair number in Boston had some reservations about it.

The greatest number of subjects in Palermo (37%) say that unity is the most important quality to be respected in family life and they are also most likely to report quarrelling with other family members as the thing they are most afraid of doing in front of their parents. One gets the impression of a good deal of suppression of aggression within the family in Palermo. Boston subjects stress both unity and affection as important in family life, whereas the boys in Rome emphasize respect or faith, and parental authority; all three groups mention obedience about equally. Italian boys also mention neglecting their school work as something they are afraid to do in front of their parents, whereas Boston subjects do not. The Boston boys most frequently mention swearing and smoking in this connection, perhaps another sign of emerging masculinity. All three groups say that family quarrels usually begin over differences of opinion, but the Boston subjects are most likely to mention this reason whereas the Italian subjects sometimes mention children and money — perhaps an indication of greater economic stress in these groups.

Somewhat more of the Palermo subjects (22%) say that they have received more unjust treatment than others, whereas the Boston subjects are somewhat more likely to say they have received less.

Anxiety and emotional adjustment

Boston subjects are more likely to re-

port concrete sources of fear (harm to self, animals), whereas Italian boys mention failure or moral lapses more.

There are no differences between the groups in reported feelings of guilt, however. The Roman subjects are more likely to deny specific fears, but they report somewhat more somatic signs of anxiety than do either the Boston or Palermo samples. The Palermo subjects are somewhat more likely to say they feel worried or nervous, whereas the Boston subjects report more changeable moods and are more likely to say they feel tired rather than serene when they wake up in the morning. There are no differences in reporting unpleasant early memories, but the Boston subjects are twice as likely to report pleasant ones.

It may be assumed that some of the differences which I have presented are related to the environment, a very important part of which is family practices. The whole mass of family interview data is now in process of re-analysis. I shall mention here only a few of the outstanding differences.

There is more control in Italy with Palermo well ahead of Rome. This is reflected in intervention in conflict between brothers and sisters, permitted freedom of movement and choice of friends, less practice of regular money allowances and the way in which such money is spent, the age at which he began to dress himself.

There are more democratic practices in Boston expressed in possibility of questioning an order, explanation given for orders and taking into account the boys opinion on certain family decisions. Similarly, some 80% of boys in Boston had some definite responsibility in household management while the converse was true in Palermo and Rome. There is also evidence that in Boston there is a greater sharing with parents of amusements and common interests.

I have been able to present but a fraction of the data in this study but we have reviewed sufficient to make some comments on the original hypotheses.

There is substantial support for hypothesis (a).

There is partial support for hypothesis (b) in that because of superior nutrition one would expect the American boys to perform better but this is not so.

There is little support for hypothesis (c). The American boys appear less dependent on their families but there appears to be more effective communication and they seem more secure.

There is support for hypothesis (d).

There is support for hypothesis (e) but we have yet to explore the mechanisms.

There is some support for hypothesis (f) but not as much as expected.

The study has been helpful in understanding the natural history of some physical disorders in adolescence.

As anticipated the mass of findings has generated a number of additional hypotheses, an example of which is the results of partial analysis of the creativity material. Immigrant groups may have to conform in order to adapt and survive. Are our findings the price of their conformity?

In conclusion, in a longitudinal study of young subjects of similar ethnic origin reared in widely differing cultures we have shown differences in physical development, in health and in psychological attitudes and capacities. Thus the longitudinal approach has indicated directions for further investigation of the differences observed and of the environmental factors which we assume to be related to them.

I am indebted to The Grant Foundation of New York for generous long term support of this study and to the late Ing. Adriano Olivetti and Prof. Vittorio Valetta for specific assistance, to Dr. Leopoldo Pirelli as well as to the former Montecatini Corporation.

I thank Harvard University for the opportunity of pursuing the work over

so long a time and my present and past colleagues Drs. Elizabeth Boutourline Young, Gino Tesi, Lucy Rau Ferguson, Richard Jessor, Frank Bar-ron, Paul Mussen, Gabriella Montema-

gni, Renata Gaddini, Venerando Correnti, the late Prof. Gino Frontali, the 343 boys and many others who contributed the larger part of what has been presented.

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THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF VOLUNTARY YOUTH MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

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The subject which I have chosen for my paper is, I hope, not of interest only to a British public. In any case the approach which I shall adopt in my analysis will underline the view that voluntary youth movements are a response to situations experienced by all modern industrial societies, and much of what I have to say about Britain could be directly applied to other countries. Nevertheless British youth movements have been a powerful influence on the development of voluntary youth work in other countries, for example two of the largest international youth organisations, the Boy Scouts and the Young Men's Christian Association, both originated in Britain. Furthermore the world wide ramifications of the British Empire in the past have facilitated the flow of ideas from Britain to many other countries.

English speaking sociologists and social historians have shown little interest in studying voluntary youth

movements (1). There has been an occasional article in sociological journals, usually inspired by a desire to show the differences between State and voluntary youth movements, but there is still no comprehensive study of book length in this field (2). Most histories of these organisations have been officially commissioned, and not surprisingly they do not offer a critical and detached approach. This lack of academic interest is difficult to understand when one remembers that it is estimated that two thirds of young adults in Britain have belonged to one such movement during their adolescence, (3) and that most of the nation's leaders have at one time passed through them. Furthermore, this area of social service represents the largest single field of voluntary endeavour in Britain.

Voluntary youth movements can be identified by three criteria. Firstly, as their name implies, the bulk of their membership consists of young peo-

ple and there are upper and lower age limits which recognise this fact. The term « youth » may, however, be interpreted very liberally for whereas some organisations deal only with pubescent and adolescents, some with adolescents and young adults, some stretch this to include those up to the age of 40. The second criterion for identifying a voluntary youth movement is that its members and leaders should be free to enter and leave without any pressure on them being exerted by those in authority, and this usually means that they function during leisure hours when people are free to choose how their spare time shall be spent. This criterion alone would not exclude State youth movements, for young people are never compelled to belong to them, but such movements will not be considered here because their control by the State gives them a very different character, both in their teaching and their organisation. The last criterion for identifying voluntary youth movements is that they set out to instruct the young morally. This criterion excludes those organisations which rely upon youths for support, such as political youth movements and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain, but offer them no curriculum and teaching. It also excludes the much less important, and more unusual, spontaneous youth movements such as the Wandervogel in Germany through which the young express beliefs in opposition to those of the adult society.

In seeking to understand the functions of voluntary youth movements I shall be guided by Merton in his distinction between manifest and latent functions (4). The manifest functions are those "objective consequences for a specified unit which contribute to its adaptation and were so intended" whereas the latent functions are the "unintended and unrecognized consequences". It will be argued here that the primary latent functions of voluntary youth movements are to promote social order, and to contribute to the maintenance of the culture and the social structure from generation to generation. Some movements are more inter-

ested in the former objective than the latter, but even those which are more forward looking tend to have only the broadest designs for the future of their members.

Although there is a considerable variety of youth movements in Britain, most voluntary youth movements can be seen as one of three kinds: reforming, recruiting or reinforcing. The earliest youth movements were especially concerned with reform, for example, the Young Men's Christian Association in its first phase, but because of their connection with the churches they were also often concerned with recruitment. Recruitment was a much more specific objective with the military cadet movements which developed later, and it also became a more explicit objective with the Boys Brigade, the uniformed organisation of the Free Churches. Reinforcing movements were the last on the scene, with the appearance of the Boy Scouts in 1907. Some movements have changed from one type to another in the course of their history, and all movements are tending to become reinforcing inasmuch as what they teach, and what is being taught in the home and school, come to resemble each other.

Reformist movements, the earliest of the three types of youth movement, arose in response to the rapid change to the urban situation in the early nineteenth century. Many of the young in the towns were migrants without the support or the control of their families or neighbours. There was also a large class of children, many of them illegitimate, who lacked any kind of parental supervision and who were forced to forage for themselves. Both groups were a threat to the social order and a challenge to the nation's conscience; the former because of their immorality, drunkenness and violence and the latter because of their larcenies.

The Young Men's Christian Association in its first phase from its inception in 1844, before the small bible study groups were replaced by large recreational centres, set out to reform the young male clerks who lived

in the accommodation provided by their employers in the City of London from their interest in drink and the music halls. The Boys' Brigade from 1883, in common with the Free Churches from which it sprang, sought to cure the godlessness of the urban masses, and their predilection for alcohol, and the Church of England followed them in their use of military styles with its Church Lads' Brigade (6). The Boys' Clubs, from the 1860s and 1870s, concentrated on trying to make healthy boys in a very unhealthy environment, whilst Girls' Clubs and the Girls' Friendly Society attempted to protect girls from exploitation at work (7).

These movements made their contact directly with young people because they could expect little co-operation from parents, and contrary to what is now commonly presumed, the working class family at this time was a far less cohesive unit than it is today and the child was frequently alienated from it (8). Little help could be expected from the schools since compulsory schooling was not established until 1880, and even when it was, the children and their parents greatly resented what the schools were trying to do. The working classes still maintained their own moral standards and they were neither judged, nor judged themselves by the single standard of middle class morality which has increasingly extended to all social classes today. The churches often stood alone as the sole socialising influence between the forces of the law and the delinquent child, and it was from the churches, particularly the non-conformist denominations, that most of the youth movements in Britain sprang.

When discussing the nature of the reformist youth movements it is necessary to remember that reformers tend to succeed, and that unless they find new objects for their labours, they work themselves out of a job. Therefore their functions in the latter half of the nineteenth century are unlikely to remain their functions today. (The same is not true of the reinforcing movements since they

tend to be moving with the tide of history towards an increase in social mobility and a greater demand for autonomy from the young). Most of their early objectives have been achieved and the young are now more carefully protected by the law, and better served by the State. Illiteracy and vagrancy have almost disappeared, drunkenness is relatively rare, malnutrition is unusual, and exploitation at work is restrained by complex legislation. The basis for a stable society has been re-established and the gross disorders of the nineteenth century have been eradicated. This is not to claim that contemporary youth no longer poses problems to the social order, but rather to suggest these are no longer so directly associated with poverty.

Reformist movements are preoccupied with the problems of social order but they are not without concern for the future of their members. Such concern however, is expressed in terms of very diffuse expectations. They do not try to train young people in the arts of parenthood, politics or production. They are concerned with the simpler, more basic roles of male and female. Boys are taught how to become men and girls to become women, and for this purpose they are segregated. All such movements are for one sex only and the preponderance of them, reflecting the dominance of men in Victorian society, are for boys.

Recruiting movements, the second type of movement I shall examine, are still emerging today but the earliest of their kind, the Army Cadet Force, started in 1860. They aim to recruit older youth for a specific adult role and whereas within the Church this means training the select few to take the message of the Church to other young people, for the military organisations it means training in specific occupational skills with little or no moral content.

The church recruiting movements tend to attract young adults who are already successfully socialised and whose families are closely associated with the Church. Furthermore since

the role they give to young people of teaching their brethren is adult in conception it is likely to encourage responsible behaviour from them. Such an evangelical role is more easily supported by the non-conformist denominations, and is especially common among the smaller sects, but it is also to be found in the larger religious minorities in Britain, such as the Roman Catholics and their Young Christian Workers (9).

The military recruiting movements emerged in 1860 when the Army Cadet Force was used as the junior echelon to volunteer forces raised to meet the threat of invasion from France. When such forces became the reserve Territorial Army, they continued this relationship. Later with the experience of two world wars, and universal conscription for the latter one, the link with the professional military force became a closer one. The nearest female equivalents to the Army Cadet Force, the Air Training Corps and the Sea Cadet Corps are to be found in the two nursing cadet movements, the Red Cross and the St. John's Ambulance Brigade but there is also the Girls' Venture Corps which now incorporates the work of the Women's Junior Air Corps. All of these movements seek to teach specific skills but this is not to say that their work ends there, for they teach loyalty to the Crown and State, and the virtues of public service. The more strictly military movements also educate their members to the higher standards of discipline expected of military men (10).

The earliest reinforcing movements, the third type of movement I am to consider, are historically located in the early 1900's, but they also continue to emerge today. These movements differ from the reformist movements by virtue of the fact that they have allies in their work. The home, the school, the church or the community are not only sympathetic to their aims but they often afford resources or leadership to them. Such unification of the influences bearing upon the child reduces the chances that he will ever offer any

successful rebellion to them, and the influence of the one makes him the more responsive to the influence of the other. It is for this reason that there is less concern in these movements with the basic problems of socialisation, with "good behaviour", and more with the teaching of "system values" (11). Such "system values" are often those of minority groups, usually religious and sometimes cultural, but in one important case, the Boy Scouts, they are the values of the socially mobile.

Religious minorities often seek to educate their children apart from other children, not only to ensure that their religious doctrines are taught, but also to pass on the culture associated with the religion. The Roman Catholics in Britain, and to a lesser extent the Jews, have their own schools, and they also have their own youth movements, and here the Jewish community is particularly active. Such movements not only help the religious community retain its values intact, but also by providing leisure facilities where both sexes can meet they reduce the possibilities of young people marrying out of their religion. Much less often than religious minorities a cultural minority will sponsor its youth movement, and the two outstanding examples are to be found in Scotland and Wales. The Welsh League of Youth founded in 1922 encourages the use of the Welsh language and promotes active participation in cultural events. It is open to both sexes. Movements associated with minority groups have as their basic concern the continued existence of that minority as a separate group, they do not interest themselves in teaching youth the elements of good behaviour, but their concern with social continuity is of a very diffuse nature, it is seldom concerned with training for specific roles, and in this respect they differ from the recruiting movements.

The most important reinforcing movement, in terms of numbers at least, is the Boy Scouts, which is in many ways the Grammar School of the Youth Movements (12). Just as the development of selective education

in Britain followed some thirty years after the development of State education, so did the Boy Scouts follow the Boys' Brigade. This movement does not concern itself too much with teaching the basic principles of obedience because the children they teach are already obedient. If anything they suffer from an excess of obedience and they need reminding after the tight disciplines of the grammar school and the close adult supervision of the suburban home, that boys ought to be boys.

The main latent function of this movement is to equip the boy with the attitudes he needs for social mobility, and thus to reinforce what is being taught in the home and school. He needs to learn that achievement will be rewarded tangibly and that his achievement will depend upon his own initiative and hard work. A less important function is to help the young boy become clear about his sex identity.

These two latent functions are by no means congruent with the manifest ones for the whole bias in the movement's teaching is against relating it to modern industrial society. Baden Powell saw it developing "the qualities of our frontier colonists such as resourcefulness, endurance, pluck, trustworthiness, etc., plus the chivalry of the Knights". As for the success in performing either function it is difficult to distinguish the effect of Scout training from that of the school or the home but it is clear that very few Boy Scouts ever come before the juvenile courts, whilst many of them achieve an improvement in their social position.

The objectives of promoting order and social continuity which have been held to comprise the functions of voluntary youth movements may also be the objectives of the family, the schools and other socialising agencies but what is critical to this classification is whether the actual content of this other socialisation resembles that being taught by Youth Movements and whether all agencies co-operate in this common task. Reformist movements, it has been sug-

gested, are struggling with their environment. Their teachings are either met with indifference or challenged; they are rarely supported. Their work was more important in the nineteenth century at a time of great social disorder, when the family was weak, the church in disarray and the public educational system non-existent. Reinforcing movements, on the other hand, have allies and these have grown stronger as the concern for the welfare of the child has increased, but they are often sponsored by minorities which have become increasingly threatened by the pressures for uniformity in a mass society. Both types of movement offer moral education but the former must begin with the simpler principles of good behaviour (the solidarity norms) and the latter taking these more for granted, introduces the child to the values and beliefs of the wider society (the system values). The recruiting movements also assume that the solidarity norms have been taught but they wish to motivate the young person for a more specific adult role, often one requiring greater discipline. They must also be prepared to spend more time equipping their members with the knowledge and skills that these roles require.

I shall now go on to examine the structure of voluntary youth movements, and try to relate that structure to their functions, for as Merton has observed "the social functions of an organisation help determine the structure (including the recruitment of personnel involved in the structure) just as the structure helps determine the effectiveness with which the functions are fulfilled" (13).

Voluntary youth movements are organisations and as such they have a formal structure through which their work is planned and carried out, but compared with other enterprises the allocation of duties is very little specified and there are few officials to co-ordinate their activities. (The Scout Movement has only one paid official to every 25,000 members). They also have an informal structure which tends to assume more

importance in the absence of a highly articulated formal structure.

In most voluntary youth movements the roles of leader and member are highly differentiated, and they are separated by many degrees of status. It is impossible for the member ever to become a leader by virtue of merit, and if he wishes such promotion he must wait until he attains the necessary age. In some movements, however, usually the church recruiting kind, the member may be asked to play a more active role and to lead his peers. Although the role of leadership is usually considered a more vital one than that of member, and more difficulty is experienced in finding leaders rather than members, some recognition has to be given to the needs of the members if the movement is to be effective in its programme of moral education.

Youth ever ready to participate in the moral education of others, is unlikely to be a willing partner in its own moral education, and this places a burden upon the youth movement to sugar the pill, which it tends to do in two ways; either by disguising the learning process as a game, or by offering compensations to those who submit themselves to it. The reinforcing movements tend to favour the first solution and the reforming movements to favour the latter. The Church recruiting movements sidestep the issue by making their members responsible for the education of their peers.

Not all voluntary youth movements in Britain give explicit recognition to the characteristic structure of informal social groups among the young. Some impose upon the young the pattern of the adult organisation; the church cadets, for example, taking over the pattern of the Army, with platoons, companies and battalions. Some, such as those which use the club method, have no intervening structure between the individual and the club, and though this has no determinate size it not infrequently numbers more than one hundred members. Others, however, are built up on the small cells of the primary

group and devolve considerable responsibility upon the young to organize the activities of their own group. Such features appear to be more common among the church recruiting and the reinforcing type of movements.

It is important to adolescents whether the programme is offered exclusively to their own age group and to their own sex. The adolescent is notoriously uncertain of his status, and eager to protect what privileges he has been given. This makes him wish to keep apart from those who are younger, and, as far as his peer group will allow, to seek out those who are older. Such pressures are likely to split the organisation if they are given their head but on the other hand if they are not given some recognition members will leave. Some organisations acknowledge these pressures by restricting membership to a narrow age band, such as 14 to 18, but most of them tend to cover a much wider age range and make administratively separate arrangements for different age groups. Those which have children's sections, usually from 8 to 11, segregate them sharply from the rest of the membership, but most organisations also recognize a break between the pubescent and adolescent years, at 14 or 15. The upper age limit varies widely; for some organisations it corresponds to the age of admission into the adult movement, for others it corresponds to the age of marriage and for some it is an arbitrary figure aimed at keeping the movement from becoming too old. Reformist and reinforcing movements tend to start with the young whilst they are still susceptible to influence whereas recruiting movements because of their concern with adult roles tend to begin with adolescents and young adults.

It requires no great effort to segregate pubescent boys and girls, but this is much more difficult to achieve, especially with current social trends, after the onset of adolescence. Yet more than half of the 14 to 20 year old membership of these movements in Britain is in single sex organisations (14). Furthermore the continued

growth of some of the more emphatically masculine movements, like the National Association of Boys' Clubs, needs some explanation, and this may lie in their appeal to boys from traditional working class backgrounds where the sexes continue to be strictly segregated. All three types of youth movement, the reforming, the reinforcing and the recruiting, tend to practise segregation but this is less marked with the church recruiting movements, perhaps by reason of their focus on work with young adults.

It has been suggested that the structure of a voluntary youth movement has to give some recognition to the needs of its members if it is to be successful in recruiting young people and holding them long enough for the programme of moral training to make its impact, however the structure is more likely to be shaped in response to the wishes of the adults who control its facilities and remain in more permanent occupation of the organisation, than to the wishes of its youthful and transient membership. Adults will have more regard for the past and future generations of members; for the movement as a whole rather than any particular unit; for the work to be done rather than the pleasures to be enjoyed; and for what happens outside the movement as well as what happens inside.

The role of the leader in a voluntary youth movement is a diffuse one and may include tasks as various as teaching first aid to that of offering advice about boy or girl friends. Now often described as "guide, counsellor and friend", his work is increasingly seen in terms of the use of personal relationships. The Scoutmaster for example who was once considered an instructor in the technical skills of camping and woodcraft now concerns himself with the social adjustment of his members. Such ideas are spreading across the whole range of voluntary youth movements especially with the spread of joint training. Whilst the content of the leader's role is becoming diffuse, the movements are beginning to specify

more explicitly through literature and training the way in which he is to interpret his role.

Interpretation of the leadership role is very much conditioned by the type of person recruited by the organisation, but surprisingly little regard is had for the personal qualities of the applicant and only a serious moral lapse would really disqualify him. It is assumed that if he shares the beliefs of the movement or has been brought up himself within it, that he is competent to be a leader. A voluntary movement always appears to have work to do for willing hands, and many movements consider that they have a chronic shortage of voluntary leaders. Most movements insist on a minimum age for becoming a leader, usually not younger than 21, and have a maximum age for retirement, although this is seldom needed for leaders tend to be young and are seldom over the age of 40 (15). Except in the children's sections where women take charge, the sex of the leader is usually the same as the sex of his or her membership, or male in the case of mixed organisations (16).

A high proportion of the women are spinsters and a more than average number of the men are bachelors. Recruitment of leadership is greatest from the lower middle class, often from teachers or clerks, and whilst it is usually from a social status group higher than the membership in the reforming movements, it is often of an equal or a lower status in the reinforcing movements (17).

The allocation of roles to leader and member is of primary concern to the organisation of a movement, but once this is done it is important to secure overall unity. Some measure of uniformity has to be achieved in their programmes, decisions taken about policy have to be passed on, and external events which affect the movement as a whole have to be discussed. In this matter the problem of communications within youth movements is crucial, and size aggravates this problem for even the smallest youth movement is substantial, with at least ten thousand members, where-

as the largest has more members than the largest industrial corporation in Britain has workers. What is more this membership is dispersed throughout the whole country and in a half dozen cases throughout the world. But since youth movements seldom act together in a manner which requires co-ordination the systems of communication are relatively simple.

Very little information is required of the unit leader by his movement, and apart from special enquiries, he will only be asked for his membership figures at the annual census. The weight of communications, however, rests much less with the technical work of the movement than it would with other organisations, and is much more concerned with morale building. Voluntary workers need to be inspired by the unity and strength of their movements, as well as be informed by them.

Words, however, are not the only or always the most effective means of communication for such purposes. The unity of a movement can be displayed more concretely and directly by the use of symbols. A substantial number of movements require their members to wear uniform and most of the others have badges for the young to show their membership. Flags and pictures may also be used to enhance the feeling of belonging. Clothing is however subject to fashion and though uniform is also subject to the same pressures for change, it is noteworthy that these pressures are always resisted very strongly. Rallies, church parades, conferences and training courses may also play their part in reminding the leaders and members that they are a part of a larger movement.

No organisation can afford to ignore its external environment, and it might be thought that youth movements which exist to serve society are in no danger of doing so, but this is to over-simplify the situation, for even youth movements become inbred, their membership and leadership are increasingly restricted to certain social strata, and their methods become

regarded as sacred formulae. Furthermore the organisation becomes something to maintain regardless of whether it is achieving the aims for which it was established.

All movements seek to grow and extend their membership and to do this they must communicate with their potential supporters. They must advertise their presence to reach the young people in their neighbourhoods. However the longer a movement has been in existence the more likely it is that it will recruit from those who have been already associated with the movement. Almost all Scoutmasters have been Scouts and a substantial number of Scouts come from families where the father has been a Scout (18). But the more distinctive the strata from which they recruit becomes the more it is accepted that this is the strata for which the movement exists (19). If this strata is growing by reason of population or social changes the movement may continue to grow but if it contracts the movement is bound to experience difficulty. The Boys' Brigade which has increasingly recruited from non-conformist working-class families has been very adversely affected by the decline of non-conformism in Britain.

The leaders do not only have to make contact with their potential members, they also have to communicate with those who can provide them with resources. It is the exceptional movement which is financially self-supporting, and can pay for its accommodation, equipment and organisation.

Most of them rely upon a sponsoring organisation for rooms to meet and in the Scouts, for example, over 60% of the troops are sponsored by Churches or schools. Many of them, especially the reforming movements, could not expect to meet the cost of their equipment from the members' subscriptions, nor meet the rising bill for employing full time staff. Close links have therefore developed with the business world which might provide the money which is needed, and the aristocracy which no longer has the wealth to meet this obligation itself now provides patronage for the financial ap-

peals. More recently, since 1937, the State has entered into this partnership providing substantial funds for capital expenditure and running costs from central and local funds but it still remains the junior partner.

It should be readily obvious that this situation will be full of dilemmas for the voluntary youth movement. If it accepts the financial backing of the State and businessmen, and the patronage of the Church and the monarchy, its capacity for independent action and for response to the idealistic needs of the young may well be constrained, but if it shuns such support the work of the movement is placed in jeopardy. Most movements accept this situation with reluctance and the temperance societies learn to use the brewer's money. Acceptance of State support has, however, proceeded very slowly in Britain.

At the beginning of this section of the paper it was suggested that an examination of the structure of voluntary youth movements could be made more fruitful by bearing in mind the functions which that structure was meant to serve. Those functions were thought to lie in the moral education of the young. It would appear that the structure which voluntary youth movements have evolved is particularly suited to their functions. The importance of the informal structure relative to the formal structure gives a high degree of discretion to the individual leader in the interpretation of his role, whilst the formal structure often acknowledges the character of informal social organisation among the young. The overall unity of these movements is secured by common beliefs and symbols.

Nothing which I have said in this paper should be taken to imply agreement with the aims of each, or any, of these movements and their close associa-

tion with the established social order must provoke a number of questions about their conservative role in society. Nor should it be assumed that they are all equally effective as they might be or as they once were: certain movements now seem to be stagnating, and others actually falling in membership. Those which seem to have been most affected are those most concerned with teaching religious doctrines, especially those of the non-conformist denomination, and those which have relied most upon military drill and uniform.

Those which have been most successful have been those which offer more opportunities to girls, with or without the company of the opposite sex, and those which use mixed youth club methods. The movements most affected by adverse trends in membership are not unaware of the need to review their structure and a notable feature of the 1960s has been their willingness to do so (20). Unfortunately the remedy for their malaise does not lie entirely in their hands for their vitality is not to be restored by bringing in organisation and methods experts. It lies more in the concern of quite ordinary men and women for the welfare of young people and their willingness to do something about it. What is clear is that for those who do commit themselves the task of moral education is now considerably more difficult to achieve than before the first, or even the second world war. In the second half of the twentieth century, unlike the first, the competition for the loyalties and interest of the young is very intense. Voluntary movements in Britain must now not only compete with a vastly expanded commercial provision for leisure, but they may also find that they are competing with the efforts of the State to offer its own version of moral education through the schools and the civic arm of the Youth Service.

(1) But see Chapter 2. - B. D. Davies and A. Gibson, *The Social Education of the Adolescent*, University of London Press, 1967; S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.

(2) See, for example, H. S. Lewin, "Hitler

Youth and the Boy Scouts of America: a comparison of aims", *Human Relations*, Vol. 1, 1947, pp. 206-27.

(3) From the findings of many local studies such as C. S. Smith, *Young People at Leisure*, Manchester, 1966.

- (4) R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Free Press, 1965, p. 60.
- (5) O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, 1939. C. P. Shedd, *History of the World's Alliance*, 1955.
- (6) F. P. Gibbon, *William Smith of the Boys' Brigade*, Collins, 1934.
- (7) W. McG. Eagar, *Making Men*, (University of London Press, 1953).
- (8) R. Fletcher, *The Family and Marriage*, Penguin, 1962.
- (9) Young Christian Workers 1939-1960. Account of the development of this movement in Britain, London, 1960.
- (10) Ch. 2. Official Handbook of the Army Cadet Force Association, London, 1962.
- (11) Jesse Pitts, "The Family and Peer Groups", Ch. 21, *The Family*, ed. Bell and Vogel, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960, pp. 266-286.
- (12) E. E. Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, Oxford University Press, 1943.
- (13) R. K. Merton, *op. cit.* p. 82.
- (14) Computed from figures given in Annual Reports by Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 26 Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1.
- (15) C. S. Smith, *op. cit.*; Boy Scouts Association; *Advance Party Report*, London, 1966. Appendix on the Recruitment and Wastage of Adult Scouters by the Department of Social Science, University of Nottingham.
- (16) *Ibid.*
- (17) *Ibid.*
- (18) *Ibid.*
- (19) Cf. S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada*, University of Toronto Press, 1948.
- (20) As for example the Advance Party Report on Scouting and the Haynes Committee Report on the Boys' Brigade, 1964.

THE PROTEST OF THE YOUNG

by Ugo Spirito



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The problem of the young is a problem that has always existed. It springs from the conflict between the generation of parents and teachers and that of children and students. The historical process implies the continuous transformation of reality and the continuous arising of new requirements that are scarcely understood and tolerated by persons used to intellectual and moral value-judgements from which they are unwilling and unable to depart. But, if the process is irreversible, it can be seen that the fatal conflict of the generations will always end in favour of the young, who represent the further stage of the journey. This is an obvious principle that serves to characterize the problem in its exact terms and to which it is necessary to refer in order to analyse and understand the various forms of the inevitable defeat of the generation of educators. The educative function of older people is more

or less seriously limited as regards opening itself up to the new and overcoming traditional conformism.

Only those who fully realize the inevitability of this historical law can today consider the *protest* of the young, which for tens of years has been manifest in ever more serious terms, in particular after the second World War. In fact, though the problem is age-old, it has become gradually greater since the start of the present century, to the point of reaching an unprecedented gravity in the current manifestations of extremist type.

To face up to the problem with full awareness it is first of all necessary to ask why this problem has recently become more acute and dramatic. This is a question of a prejudicial kind which can be answered without difficulty only by those who reflect upon the necessity for the conflict of the generations due to the rhythm of transformation of reality. It at once

appears clear that the situation must rapidly deteriorate when the rhythm, or rate, of transformation speeds up and goes deeper. Now, the history of civilization has no other case like ours in which the speed of the transformation has reached such a high degree of intensity in all countries in the world. In the last century, science and technology changed all man's life rhythms, achieving with the means of transport and the audio-visive means of communication possibilities of relationships that reach the point even of instantaneousness. Men's experience broadens out to an improbable extent and a new concept of life is coming to be formed, beyond all the traditional limits.

The *gap* between the generation of parents and that of the sons becomes enormous and there comes into being every day a hiatus without precedent. But the maximum transformation came with the second World War which, unlike the first, was truly a "world" war — affecting, that is to say, all continents, bringing onto the crest of history peoples suddenly endowed with the voice of independence and the instruments of common international life. The world has thus reached an unforeseeable form of unification and its history has become a single history, that is the history of a single contemporary experience.

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It suffices to have made mention of the world that occurred in the period subsequent to the second World War to understand the "detachment" of the new generation from the previous one. If it is wished to characterize this detachment with precision and become aware of its implications, it is necessary to reflect upon the change of *values* that has come to take place as a result of the process of unification. If the world becomes unified, it is clear that the values in which humanity places its faith must also become unified and common. The values believed in by the generation of the non-unified world were more or less regional, bound to a history that was also more or less regional, and that is to say to local traditions, uses and customs. Through the pro-

cess of unification, all that is particular in character tends of necessity to enfeeble and disappear. Only that which has common value will become emphasized and become object of faith.

Now, it is precisely this fact that serves to clarify the existing conflict of the generations. The values believed in by the parents are still the regional ones, and the values the sons are coming close to are those of the world in process of unification. A thoroughgoing analysis of what characterizes the present common life of the peoples of the earth makes it possible to understand the movement towards an ever less differentiated conception and practice. What will succeed is what is recognized as valid by all, and what, on the other hand, answers to special traditions can save itself only if it succeeds in taking its place as accepted element in the common discourse.

To exemplify the process in progress it suffices to call to the attention what until a very short while ago represented the ideal patrimony of the components of a single country. In the first place, the country itself, the fatherland, conceived as the supreme good for which to live and die. But essential parts of the country were the traditional contents that gave it a particular physiognomy and, first of all, religion. Patriotic faith and religious faith then became gradually united in a conception of life in which decisive value was taken on by determined philosophies and political ideologies which served as foundation in the education of the new generations. In other words, every country ended up by acquiring a spiritual physiognomy of particular character, and the values in which there was faith were indeed particular, that is to say bound to those forms of knowledge and to those ideals that are different from one another and which do not succeed in becoming common discourse of the peoples (religions, philosophies, ideologies).

The new generations, on the contrary, tend to set up between themselves precisely that common discourse that answers to the reality of the unified world and which, indeed, has made such unification possible. And the

nature of the unified common discourse and that is to say that form of knowledge that has become the patrimony of all and which is instituting everywhere the same ideals, the same uses and customs, the same manifestations of life and the same expression of culture, is revealed to us by the international affirmation of science and technology, which has succeeded in transcending all frontiers of nations and continents.

The new generations tend ever more greatly towards this common discourse, even if they oscillate between the old and the new and cannot see in science the capacity of expressing the traditional requirements of religion, metaphysics and politics, raised from the particularity of the single traditions to the universality of the scientific discourse.

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The dimensions of the transformation of the world that has been taking place since the end of the second World War are, as can be seen, so great as to make clear the enormous gap between the old and the new generations. It is indeed a question of a quantitative and qualitative gap such as to make almost impossible any reciprocal understanding and co-operation. The difference of faiths and ideals does not permit of the bridge required to make normal and peaceful the changeover from old to new. The conflict has become dramatic and could even become tragic. In the space of a few years we have seen the shift from one world to another, essentially different one, without the diversity having become wholly aware in its deepest significance. It should thus cause no wonder that the problem is still seen in highly superficial terms and that attempt is made to minimize it or even to ignore it.

The most uninformed form of minimizing the question is the conviction that what is involved is simply one of those going-off-the-rails of the new generation, which will sooner or later be brought back to reason. What lies behind this conviction is, of course, the certainty of the absoluteness and eternal nature of the traditional values.

Many have not the slightest inkling that the "deviation" is the result of the value-crises of particular religious, metaphysical and political traditions. And for such persons the past represents the truth to which the present and future should be made to conform. If the young fail to recognize this it means that they are off the track and the only thing to do is to bring them back into line. Regrettably, this psychological attitude is very widespread and can in general be called the dominant position. But it is just such attitude that makes the conversation between fathers and sons impossible. The new requirements not reconcilable with the convictions of the past are of course discarded as evident deviations and in respect of them there arises the wish for denial and repression. In the happiest of events the discourse is broken off and the silence that separates for ever is entered into.

On their part, the misunderstood young have exact awareness of problems and solutions that escape the older people, and they accustom themselves to losing the faith necessary for acceptance and obedience. It does not even faintly occur to them that right may be on the side of the parents and teachers, since they note that the world of which they are protagonists totally eludes the observation and comprehension of those who claim to guide them and correct them. Certainty of being in the right leads to mutual stiffening, and the fracture can no longer be healed. Of course, the dualism has various degrees, due to the variety of intelligences, of age-differences between one generation and the other, of capacity for "opening-up" on the part of the older people, of the strength of the love that binds parents and children, and so on. But, despite all this, there remains the substantial fact of an objectively irremediable conflict, only apparently veiled over by the goodwill of both sides.

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The factual situation described above then gets really remarkably worse when the older people themselves begin to have doubts about their faith

in traditional values. If the position of the young does not succeed in persuading them to change the substance of the convictions they so conformingly follow, it does however often attenuate the committal of the defence and spreads an ever more marked outward guise of indifference and scepticism. The discourse of the older people tends to become extrinsic and conventional and to degenerate into rhetoric of the most obvious kind. It is enough to follow the usual manifestations of the governing class, the oratorical expressions of the most representative men, the appeals of the maximum constituted authorities, to become aware of the emptiness of their words and the chillness of their souls. There are still men capable of a tremendous faith in the values in which they were educated, but the majority are far removed from them by now and continue to exalt them simply because they can find nothing to put in their place. And then the hiatus that divides the generations is not even attenuated by the esteem and affection felt for those who seriously believe in something; the detachment of the young manifests itself in an express condemnation. Once free of faith and reverence, the young are able to see the insincerity, the hypocrisy and the cynicism — ever greater in degree — of the conscience of the old generation, and with disgust, they withdraw from every kind of relation involving spiritual exchange. As regards the small extent to which the exchange still goes on, it is based solely on calculation of what can be got out of an instrumentalization of the men who still hold the power, in all its aspects. The problem of incomprehension takes second place and what comes into the foreground is the spectacle of a more or less general social running down, or undoing. The old values go overboard, but are not yet replaced by the new; the crisis becomes tenser and deeper; and no one is capable of saying a word that guides or illumines. The problem of the young dissolves in the misunderstanding of a compromise that is humiliating for the old generation and for the young generation too.

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With a situation of the kind described, which marks the peak of the post-war crisis, there comes in various ways and various aspects the protest and revolt of the young who are unwilling to adapt to misunderstanding and compromise. It is a protest that rises from the new generation against the old and which then spreads out to a certain extent everywhere, thus causing a phenomenon of international dimensions; but it is a protest that is not univocal and which from year to year takes on a different physiognomy depending on the times and the environments in which it occurs. To understand it, it is necessary to follow its motivations and ends, trying not to be influenced by the extrinsic aspects of its manifestation. At its deepest roots, the protest is motivated by the need for a new conception of life such as to give sense and value to a society in dissolution. A metaphysical requirement, therefore, the dimensions and meaning of which are rarely fully realized, but which in itself informs the conscience of a disappointed and disoriented youth. Of course, the metaphysical requirement still has the character of a pure need that fails to specify and qualify itself and thus fails also to become concretized in truly revolutionary thought or action. Generally, indeed, the wish to change the situation and to find new values ends up in re-affirmation of the validity of the old values and of the traditional metaphysics, which can be seen particularly in the protest against the immorality of the old generation to which it is wished to oppose a praxis of renewed morality. The accusation of insincerity, of hypocrisy, of cynicism carries with it the re-affirmation of the neglected and repudiated values and thus remains within the framework of an unchanged tradition and metaphysics. The degeneration is deplored but there is no straying outside the terms of a life seen in the light of the situation existing before the crisis. Basically, there is an attempt to institute a world that renovates the values denied. It is a moralistic protest that remains outside the true problem — which is that of

the decline of the traditional values.

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Another form of protest, on the other hand, is based precisely on the negation of traditional values — to which, however, no new and more convincing values are opposed, through incapacity to oppose them. It is the pure and simple «NO!» which expresses itself in extremist and destructive forms. Except that the pure negation ends up by having an effect contrary to the one that was hoped for: the description, in fact, of the failure of the world of the past and of the consequences to which it leads ends up by causing a sense of bewilderment and even of fear, with the result that the negative position is withdrawn from and a movement of reaction is reached which is substantially a negation of the negation.

The world described gives rise to a state of repugnance which halts the process of protest and makes it vain. In any case, what is entailed is an extremism that can only lead to indifference or to tragic and angst-ridden cynicism. It is the protest that exhausts itself in itself without any constructive possibility. The metaphysical requirement of which it is expression fails to express itself as anything but metaphysic of the void.

The psychological carrying over of such position, which is regrettably very widespread in more or less marked forms, is represented by the attitudes of inertia or laziness to which the young often abandon themselves — precisely in the period of their lives when they should be making essential decisions and choices. The energy necessary for all taking-up of positions is lacking, and life comes to a halt in a state of apathy and renunciation. Living life for the day is gone on with; its manifestations are vacuous and coarse, and become jaundiced with tedium and melancholy. It becomes impossible to enjoy and to hope, because life is dragged on in a present without future — that is to say without aspirations and without plans.

This is a psychological situation that can last even for several years, and which is generally emerged from by

returning to acceptance, in some manner, of the traditional values and with a taking-up again of the rhythm of the life of the past, not without being left with soul made arid by the disappointment of the revolt that failed. Life is gone on without the possibility of any further faith and further commitment, in more or less superficial and dreary forms of activity. The protest comes to an end without leaving any positive result and any prospect as regards the future.

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And then there is another type of protest which wants to become positive and operative. Moving on from the negation of present society, it would aim to institute a form of new life which, giving up all the traditional values, proposes ideals greatly superior to them. Naturally it is this kind of protest that should represent the awareness of an explicit metaphysic, capable of instituting principles and criteria of radical renewal. Faced with the world that ends, it ought to become the model of the society of tomorrow. And so it is precisely in this protest that we should seek the pointers for the future, that is to say the concrete expressions of the path open to the new generations.

The results so far achieved by this type of protest are, of course, highly disparate and contradictory. The task is so difficult and so revolutionary as not to give rise in any rapid way to consistent and organic forms of life. It is a question of extemporaneous motifs, of attempts barely roughed out, of Lear-like attitudes, from which it is very difficult to draw well-founded hopes for the future. From the more extrinsic point of view, attempt is made to determine new "costums of life" that qualify themselves also in the forms of clothing and behaviour. From the point of view of principles and ideals, these range from the negation of the capitalistic forms, of the society of consumption and well-being, to the negation of work, of the planned life, of political institutions, etc. In general, there is insistence on the negation of violence and the exaltation of peace and love.

In the most radical forms, the extem-

poraneous life is arrived at, outside the family, homeless and without money, in drastic counter-position to the present forms of social life. But it suffices to reflect a little on these types of manifestation to realize that they are the wan expressions of a tardy and recurrent romanticism, which is bound to exhaust itself rapidly. If it gives the impression of being capable of lasting for a more or less long period, this is only because its protagonists are not always the same and groups of young people take turns in brief experiences from which, substantially disappointed, they withdraw. These are all attempts that become transformed into passing fashions which serve only to institute conformist and exhibitionist habits. But what is worse is that the superficiality of such forms of protest ends up by strengthening the world against which it is wished to protest, because the poverty of the results achieved leads to forgetfulness of the validity of the original need, and causes a *a-priori* discarding of all positive judgement. The so manifestly Lear-like assumption of the various attempts ends up by becoming an effect exactly contrary to the one wished for, that is to say, it becomes a reactionary effect. An ephemeral protest that serves only to ratify the world it claims to deny.

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The negative outcome of these types of protest becomes, moreover, accentuated when the instruments of the new expressions of life tend to become pathological in nature. This is the case with the falling back on alcohol and the various kinds of drug. There are those who seek a solution of the crisis in oblivion, with drunkenness and like states. It is a desperate solution it is wished to achieve with evasion. But an even more radical evasion, indeed a properly so-called *liberation* or transformation of the horizon of life is sought after by means of drugs that have not euphoric but hallucinatory effects. It is an attempt to break with the past and become free of inhibitory complexes. Which also explains why the seekers after liberation alternate

drugs with psychoanalysis. These are forms of protest that fall back from the social world into the subjective world and create in the interior reality that transformation that they refuse to expect from outside.

What is most striking in the various forms of protest of the new generations is the prevalence of the pacifist attitude. The violent forms of the revolutionary ideals are almost entirely left out of account. It is true that in the post-war period we witnessed and continue to witness the spread of forms of individual violence, and group violence, even in the bourgeois world. Indeed, the cases of young people who rob and kill without reason and simply for the pleasure of destruction are pretty frequent. And there have also been collective manifestations of violence that have affected entire countries. But this side of the protest has always been very slight. In general, on the other hand, and especially in recent years, the movements of protest have lost all trace of aggression and, with the exception of sporadic delinquent violence, these movements like to express themselves in idyllic forms that even smack of the ridiculous. The refusal to destroy, or at least to strike cruelly against the society against which the protest is made, means that every programme of action fails to take on any truly revolutionary character and confines itself to encouraging forms of opposition that are entirely mild. This can only in part correspond to the awareness of an explicit metaphysic informed by love and is perhaps above all the sign of scarce faith and scarce constructive will. The need for radical forms of renewal is not felt and there lacks the courage for a commitment that entails risks of true gravity.

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Perhaps the farthest extreme reached by the protest of the young is silence. It is the protest of those who accept nothing but do not discard anything either: they do not claim having the criteria which enable them to discard, nor they succeed in determining exactly the object of refusal, thus remaining in a position of funda-

mental perplexity. The negativity is total, but is also conscious of the inability to express itself without contradiction. Those involved are the young people who do not carry out their revolt against the old generation and confine themselves to breaking off all dialogue with it. If they break the silence, they do so only to carry on discussion with those of the same age and, with them, to form esoteric groups. This type of extremism usually entails hyper-active behaviour. All experiences are attempted, even the most disparate, and the world is looked at with the need for a total information. Study and reading become a constant concern and the degree of maturity reached is far superior to that of the young people of the previous generations. Nothing is accepted and everything is *sought*. The search is made with knowledge of total disorientation — which is such as not to allow even its explicit expression.

But, in spite of all, they are young people who study and who, indeed, seek. Why? This is the spontaneous question, especially when comparison is made with so many other young people who, in the same conditions of crisis, become without will and inert. They study and seek because they are not willing to give in, and they feel a new faith that they cannot define, but which is the greatest that the crisis permits: faith, that is to say, in the capacity to emerge from the crisis and to start off towards a future that cannot as yet be determined but which is nonetheless expected with growing hope as experience widens and as the cultural richness acquired leads to an ever greater effort and a commitment of extreme seriousness. It is the metaphysic of the void that turns into the metaphysic of the search, lit by all the lights of a particularly broad and thoroughgoing experience. And it is a metaphysic that reaches the level of a radical requirement, such as affects the entire reality of today and to go out towards that exhaustive reply that every aware metaphysic proposes.

It has been said that this is perhaps the maximum extreme of the protest of the new generations, and it can be added that from it in particular it is

legitimate to expect the construction of tomorrow. If the crisis of present society is a metaphysical crisis, then its solution must be of metaphysical nature also, and, today, silence can indeed express the awareness of the problem as a problem of all.

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Recently the protest of the young has reached the university, not without manifestations in the Upper Middle Schools. And so it is the expressions of this protest that should be looked at to see what can legitimately be expected from the future. For it is at the university that the new generations can attain the maturest awareness of the detachment from the traditional world and start to indicate the future path.

But precisely in the universities it is necessary to distinguish between the protest expressed in the various more or less extrinsic forms and the deeper protest of silence. For if we consider the more common expressions of student revolt against the old generation we may illude ourselves that there is an attainment of a degree of constructiveness and concreteness not achieved by the other manifestations. In the action of the universities, it is stated, we finally leave behind the sterile opposition of a youth that does not know what it wants and we begin to recognize the will and capacity for solving the problems arising in the post-war years.

The students finally begin to determine the object of their dissatisfaction and to put forward fundamental requirements, to which we can no longer oppose a pure and simple *fin de non recevoir*. We now have to deal with people with fairly clear and explicit ideas — enough to claim rights and wish for transformations; these cannot any longer be legitimately neglected and even less refused without discussion. The students have reached a degree of maturity sufficient to discuss and propose problems of university life that can no longer be the sole responsibility of the professors and of the authorities of the legislative and executive power. The voice of the young must be heard and followed.

There is no doubt that the protest of the university students has suddenly taken on an unexpected concreteness and that public opinion has ended up by recognizing that the claims put forward have a valid foundation. Even those of dogmatically authoritarian mentality, who usually react with total intransigence against every student manifestation, have had to admit the need to give some consideration to the requests made by the young, and to see in them a minimum of justification and legitimacy.

But it is precisely this positive element that will compromise the meaning and result of the protest, wearing it out on a second-level plane of sterile substance. Whatever concession is made, even if apparently notable and revolutionary, will only result in silencing the protest and postponing indefinitely the solution of the fundamental problem. Which, as has already been observed, cannot be that of an episodic and transitory conflict, but is, on the contrary, the expression of the irreconcilability of two differing conceptions of the world, represented by values in decline and new values that arise. Until the young people become aware of the new metaphysic to be instituted, their protest cannot be anything but extrinsic and superficial, so that every attempt to have it mature into a truly reconstructive work will be fatally destined to fail.

Now unfortunately, the new generation does not succeed in demonstrating true awareness of the metaphysical character of the problem, and even if, here and there, it begins to realize that the protest must be raised onto a plane such as affects the whole of existing society, it is not capable of a sufficiently clear and organic orientation to be able to proceed towards a new ideal. It is not a question of getting out of the governing class some provisions of special nature, even though of notable importance, but of conceiving a new society informed by a new vision of the world, and thus to be constructed *ex novo* in the light of an organic principle valid for the whole unified world.

And this is the reason why, over and above the protest in progress in the universities and the results it may attain, which may even seem impor-

tant and satisfactory, it is necessary to look to that deeper process of maturation and search that conceals itself in the silence of the young people who are more committed and thus not convinced by the superficial, disordered and contradictory attitudes of their rebel colleagues.

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The analysis so far made of the protest of the young can now make some forecast, or hypothesis, as to what outcome it can be expected to have in the near future. Of course it is an outcome that cannot be confined to Italy, if it is true that the new generation is also worldwide. Which means that the forecast must be made starting out from the consideration of what has led to the unification of the world and has made the problem of the future a problem common to all countries.

It has already been observed that the unifying force of the world in the post-war period was science, which had the capacity to make the discourse of the populations common, embodying a basis of theoretical and practical consent on which humanity is proceeding to the construction of the future. Thus it is only possible to look at the future with the awareness of what is entailed by a conception of reality informed essentially by science.

Now, the question we have to ask does in fact concern the degree of awareness reached by the new generation as to the meaning to be given to a world informed by scientific knowledge.

The first observation to be made regards the general incapacity to distinguish the scientific plane from the non-scientific plane. The present situation is characterized by the mixing of heterogeneous motives which are due, on the one hand, to the weight of a tradition from which it is difficult to escape, except in a minimum degree and, on the other hand, to a concept of science still counterposed to other forms of knowledge. If, for example, we look at the more expressive manifestations of the university protest, we have to recognize a continuous vacillation between

the scientific instance and the political one, with the obvious consequence of programmes and ideals in which absolutely irreconcilable motives contend. In other words, it is not realized that the problems to be solved cannot be dealt with from a scientific point of view *and* from a political point of view, but only from a scientific or political point of view, for the simple reason that the scientific process, when understood in its true range, solves in itself, without any residual requirement of a political nature. This is a fundamental presupposition for setting one's hearings in the world of today, precisely because the universality of scientific knowledge is not reconcilable with the particularity of political ideology.

The lack of such awareness means that the agitations and protests sometimes have concrete final technical ends or conflicting and abstract political intentions and claims. The consequence is that the possibility of reaching a general agreement on the method for reform of the universities is radically compromised by the insuperable disagreement of the various political attitudes. The final result is of course marked by an unclear and chaotic situation, which cannot be escaped from except in illusory and compromising form. Unfortunately, the present movement of protest, precisely because of its hybrid nature, is destined to substantial failure, even if in some way or other it will serve to prepare the soil for the future. Because of the immaturity of their position, the protagonists of today can only burn themselves out, and their contribution will serve only to feed the process of maturation of those who come after and who will have very different possibilities of effective constructive work.

* * *

The substantial sterility of the present protest is caused precisely by the inability to raise itself onto the meta-physical plane so as to bring it into harmony with the renewal of the whole society. The technical end to be achieved cannot be achieved because it is not seen in its deepest aspect,

which is that of the new conception of reality.

It is true that here and there are arising signs of an anti-political or a-political orientation, but the reasons for this are still too vague and generic for them to lead to concrete results. What are especially involved are attitudes of impatience or even of nausea, and not a precise awareness of the anachronism of forms of knowledge and social structures that go on living through inertia and force of tradition. Still too rarely is it realized that political parties and programmes, representation for universal suffrage, parliamentary government, egalitarian sovereignty of individuals and like aspects of the democratic tradition are absolutely inadequate as regards the requirements of present-day society and fatally lead to falsity, degeneration and undoing of the social institutions and ways of life.

When the young people cry "Power to the Students!" they gather together in this slogan contradictory requirements that they are incapable of clarifying. For, on the one hand they remain on the ideological-political plane which moves them to claim the sovereignty of mass proper to a democracy in egalitarian and individualistic sense; on the other hand, they tend to move onto the plane of competence, claiming their right to discuss and decide problems affecting their specific activity as students. The interference of the two positions, of course, does not permit of a consistent attitude and the confusion between political power and scientific power cannot be concretely overcome. In other words, the power cannot be articulated into specific functions that correspond to specific competences, but is claimed leaving out of account the effective capacity of exerting it in an organic way. The science/politics dualism is not overcome, and the Lear-like or would-be attitude of a non-articulated power degenerates into political forms of deteriorious kind.

* * *

The university protest must be considered as the biggest opening up towards the future. The new generation

will be able to give the measure of itself above all with the capacity of self-expression through university life. If it is true what has been said about the transformation of the world through its unification brought about by science and technics, then it is legitimate to expect from the youth that is being educated in the new science the change-over from abstract protest to concrete reconstruction. We must therefore look in particular to the university to glimpse the physiognomy of the world of tomorrow and to understand fully the meaning of the conflict between the two generations at war. But, then, in the university, we shall also be able to see the biggest obstacle to the affirmation of the new values to be instituted, since this is for the most part represented precisely by the generation of Lecturers, educated in a tradition with profound cultural roots and thus often incapable of opening their eyes to a world in transformation. In other words, in the University we find the extremes of the present crisis:

on the one hand the young with maximum capacities for preparing the future through a new experience and the opening up towards the world unified by science; on the other hand, the Lecturers with their formation in the world of the past and extreme defenders of a tradition that has taken root in their minds and hearts. In the university the drama of the two generations has its deepest and most significant expression, and serves to indicate the fundamental motives of the opposition and the symptoms of the renewal. Nevertheless, beyond the clash of two different mentalities, it is in the universities that we should look for attempts and efforts made in the interests of creating a bridge between old and young, by the more expert and comprehensive men. The university, then, represents the place of meeting and mediation of two worlds, where the past and the future, tradition and renewal, appear in all their richness and promise.

Translation from the original text in Italian, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

NORMAL AND ABNORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF PUBERTY IN BOYS

by A. Prader



The lecturer Prof. Andrea Prader, director of the Pediatric Clinic of the University of Zurich.

For years my main interest has been pediatric endocrinology, that is to say the study of health or illness of the hormone secreting endocrine glands in children. One of the most evident hormonal manifestations is adolescence or puberty. It is an impressive physical phenomenon and an equally impressive psychological phenomenon with far-reaching educational and social repercussions, which are the concern of parents, teachers, religious teachers, psychologists and jurists. I therefore believe that the meetings held yesterday and today, attended by educationists, psychologists, philosophers, jurists and medical men for a discussion of the various aspects of adolescence, must prove of enormous interest to all those taking part: and I should like to express my sincerest thanks to the FOMEME Institution and to its President for their initiative and also for the invitation extended to myself.

Adolescent Medicine or Ephebiatrics

For all those dealing in some way or another with adolescents, both enthusiasm and experience are necessary, but also exact knowledge of the physical and psychological changes in puberty. Only thus can they understand the adolescent, win his confidence and help him in the solution of his problems and with the harmonious fulfilment of his physical, spiritual and psychological potentials.

It has for some time now been recognized in medicine that medical care of the adolescent calls for special experience and knowledge of the physical aspects and even more of the psychological aspects. Adolescents can be treated neither as children nor as adults. Their inner insecurity, their wish for independence, their idealism, their vitality, the pleasure they take in experimenting, their exuberance and, last but not least, their vanity must be known and taken fully

into consideration. The gradual development of the new subspecialty of adolescent medicine or Ephebiatrics in the USA and more recently in Europe as well is a real step forward. Ephebiatrics is derived from the Greek Ephebos (adolescent) and Iatros (doctor). I find that this kind of work gives me some of my greatest satisfaction in my activities as a doctor.

The Physical Phenomenon of Normal Puberty

I shall now briefly describe the physical phenomenon of puberty. In the simplified language of the present time, the concepts of puberty and adolescence are synonymous. They designate the period from the first appearance of secondary sexual characteristics to the end of physical growth. The two facts characteristic of this period are the intense rate of growth and the transformation from child into adult. Except for the first year of life, the physical modifications are in no other phase of life so rapid and intense as in adolescence.

In the young boy today, the first signs of puberty usually appear between 12 and 13. The normal variation, however, is very broad, and ranges more or less from 10 to 17. Contrary to this remarkable variability of the start of puberty, the variability in the order of appearance of the signs of puberty and in the duration of the puberal process is relatively limited. I wish also to recall that in girls puberty begins about two years earlier than in boys, and that in the last century puberty began both in girls and boys on an average two years later than it does today. At the same time adult stature has steadily increased. This "secular acceleration" depends partly on a more rapid body development in infancy, a fact which is probably the result of better nutrition and reduction of alimentary disturbances and infections, which were once inevitable.

The first sign of puberty in the male is a slight enlargement of the testicles. About six months later there is the appearance of pubic hair. At first they are scarcely visible, and then they rapidly increase. Almost simultaneously, the penis starts to grow larger. At the same time, an acceleration in growth begins, which involves not only

the overall stature but, to an even greater extent, the extremities, leading to the typical long-limbed "acromegalic" body proportions of the adolescent. A year later the maximum growth rate is attained. Thereafter the growth rate slows down again, and the growth of the extremities stops before that of the trunk. Growth is complete about 5 years after the start of its acceleration. At this point, the body proportions of the adult have been attained. Unlike growth, muscular mass and the physical strength still continue to increase for some time.

During the period of intense growth the testicles and penis become rapidly larger and attain adult size before the body has stopped growing. Pubic hair increases also, but reaches full masculine development only at the end of growth period. The appearance of axillary hair generally begins about two years after the first appearance of pubic hair. The same is the case with facial hair, which attains its full masculine development only after growth is completed. About two years after the appearance of the first pubic hair, there are the first indications of a change in the tone of the voice. This is a fluctuating process, the beginning of which often cannot be exactly determined. Contrary to popular belief, however, the "breaking" of the voice is not an early sign of puberty.

As mentioned, the growth of the testicles and of the penis is particularly rapid in adolescence in contrast to the period prior to puberty. From infancy to the start of puberty, the testicles and penis scarcely grow at all. This fact too is not well-enough known, with the result that apprehensive parents of completely normal children at the age of 8 to 12 may fear a glandular disturbance with insufficient development of the genital organs. About three years after the start of puberty, when body growth is not yet complete, the testicles and penis have reached their full dimensions. Erections have become frequent, nocturnal emissions have occurred and a very strong sexual stimulus has developed, which in most cases leads to frequent masturbation. Towards the end of adolescence the sexual drive is as a rule stronger than in any later period of

life. It seems to me important that parents, teachers and doctors should bear this fact in mind. In this context it is certainly right that each child, prior to the start of puberty, should be given sexual information. Every adolescent should be informed with objectivity and comprehension about the normal physical and sexual development of puberty.

There is another frequent but not constant sign of puberty which I have not yet mentioned. This consists of a slight swelling of the mammary glands, called puberal gynecomastia, which often manifests itself at the start of puberty. It is without consequences and usually disappears after a few months.

Brain, Hormones, Skeletal Maturation and Puberty

While the physical aspects of puberty, as I have described them, are very well known, we know very little about why puberty begins at a given time, and not before or after, and do not yet fully know the control mechanisms of testicular function by the brain and the pituitary gland.

The *testicles* have two important functions. The first is the production of sperm cells; the other the production of testosterone, the male sexual hormone. The remarkable enlargement of the testicles during puberty is due to the maturation of sperm cell production. The other characteristics of puberty are induced by testosterone. Testosterone is a precisely known steroid molecule, which is also synthesized by the pharmaceutical industry for therapeutic purposes. The two functions, the production of sperm cells and that of testosterone, depend on gonadotropic hormones secreted by the *pituitary gland*, which is a small, bean-sized gland at the base of the brain. The pituitary gland also produces numerous other hormones and is itself controlled by as yet little-known hormones or "releasing factors" which originate from the *hypothalamus*, a part of the brain, that is near the pituitary gland. Testosterone and its breakdown products, as well as the gonadotropic hormones, can be determined quantitatively in the urine and also, since recently, in the blood. Such measurements are im-

portant for the evaluation of boys with unusual or abnormal development of puberty.

It is not as yet known why the *hypothalamus*, at a given moment, as a rule at the age of 12 to 13, starts to stimulate the pituitary gland to increase the production of gonadotropic hormones, which lead to the maturation of the testicles and thus to the physical evidence of puberty. We know, however, a few rather surprising facts, which I will discuss in a moment. They do not, however, fully explain the complexities and the timing of the hypothalamus-pituitary-testicular regulation.

The hypothalamus performs its control action on the pituitary gland and on the gonads in a continuous manner in men and in a cyclic manner in women. From animal experiments we know that this capacity of the hypothalamus develops very early, probably even in the fetus, and that it depends on the presence or absence of testosterone in the fetus. In fact, the testicles of the male fetus produce testosterone, which is necessary for the normal development of the external male genital organs and for the establishment of the future male function of the hypothalamus. After birth, the testicle ceases to produce testosterone almost completely, and takes it up again only at the start of puberty. A process similar to that in the testicles takes place in the *adrenal cortex*. This organ also produces, even before birth, hormones that have a mild testosterone-like activity. After birth, this production stops and starts again in puberty. It is still unknown through which hormone the pituitary gland regulates this function of the adrenal cortex. The testosterone-like hormones of the adrenal cortex are responsible, among other things, for the appearance of pubic and axillary hair in girls, while breast development and menstruation are due to the female hormones originating from the ovaries.

As mentioned, we do not know what induces the hypothalamus to stimulate, at a given moment, the chain reaction, from the pituitary gland to the adrenal cortex and the gonads, which leads to puberty. It is, however, known that this phenomenon always

takes place when the skeleton has reached a certain degree of maturity. The degree of maturity of the skeleton can be estimated from a radiograph of the hand and is expressed as *bone age* in years. Nothing is known of the internal relationship between skeletal maturity and the function of the hypothalamus. It is, however, empirically certain that the bone age in boys at the start of puberty ranges from 12 to 13 1/2, while the chronological age, as already stated, varies enormously and can range from 10 to 17. This surprising fact makes it possible to state from a radiograph of the hand, whether and to what extent puberty is present.

Skeletal maturation depends on heredity, probably also on nutrition and certainly on various hormones, including thyroid hormone and pituitary growth hormone. Indirectly, therefore, these factors determine when puberty will begin.

Forecast of the Time of Puberty and of Future Growth

Bone maturation is related not only with the timing of puberty but also with the end of growth, which will be attained when the bone epiphyses have fused with the shaft. The relationship between puberty, end of growth, and bone maturation allows the prediction in children over 8 with a fair degree of accuracy of the age at which puberty will begin and the future adult stature. The factors in this calculation are age, stature and a radiograph of the hand. Such a forecast is of great importance in appraising children who have retarded or accelerated growth, and children with precocious or delayed puberty. It very often shows that the future growth and development will be normal and that the fears that have brought the child to the doctor are without foundation. In this way, many adolescents who are discouraged by their short or tall stature or by the absence of puberty will regain their selfconfidence and their faith in the future.

To give some actual figures, I would like to mention that just before puberty the rate of growth is on an average 5 to 7 cm per year and that

it increases to a maximum of about 8 to 11 cm per year during the pubertal growth spurt. From the first appearance of pubic hair to the attainment of adult stature, a boy grows an average of approximately 22 cm.

Disturbances in the Development of Puberty

I shall now give a short description of the unusual and abnormal forms of the development of puberty. Naturally, I can only mention some of the more frequent disturbances. I shall leave aside completely the malformations of the genital organs and sexual perversions, since both fall outside the scope of my topic. Only incidentally it should be mentioned that the strong and not fully integrated sexuality of adolescence may lead to temporary homosexual tendencies, which usually subsequently disappear. Another problem which can only be mentioned is that of undescended testicles (cryptorchism). Even if hormone treatment or surgical intervention fails to correct the position of the testicles, puberty develops normally since the testicles produce enough testosterone despite their abnormal position. They will, however, not produce mature sperm cells, which means that the patient will remain sterile, although physical and sexual development will be normal. The most serious disturbance is the total *lack of testicles*. This occurs only rarely and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from an abnormal position of the testicles in the abdominal cavity. The reason for the lack of testicles is in many cases unknown. In other cases it can be attributed to the destruction of the testicles following an infection or spontaneous torsion of the spermatic cord with consequent stoppage of blood flow. The consequence of this is a complete lack of puberty as in castrated persons or eunuchs. There is, however, a minimal amount of pubic and axillary hair caused by the aforementioned testosterone-like hormones of the adrenal cortex. Enlargement of the penis, the "breaking" of the voice, facial hair and sexual drive are, however, totally lacking. In this situation, it is possible to imitate a normal puberty by prolonged treatment with testosterone. This treatment leads to

a normal physical and sexual development, but of course cannot restore fertility. Such treatment is absolutely necessary for psychological reasons, and should start as soon as the bone maturation has reached the stage corresponding to normal puberty. I know several men with this anomaly who, thanks to this ideal substitutive treatment, are completely normal in their physical, sexual and psychological development and who achieve outstanding results in their professional and athletic activities. If they use common shower rooms in their athletic activities or in military service, it may be advisable to implant testicular prosthesis in plastic for psychological reasons. It goes without saying that these substitutes have only aesthetic and psychological, but not functional significance.

Other disturbances of adolescence are caused by absent or insufficient testicular function as a result of a disorder in the hypothalamus or the pituitary gland, or an abnormality of the testicles themselves. In this situation, treatment with testosterone or with gonadotropic hormones may also induce a normal puberal development. However, fertility can only rarely be reached.

In addition to these clearly abnormal situations, some innocuous variations of normal puberty exist, which affect the order of appearance or the degree of the secondary sex characteristics or in which puberty comes unusually early or unusually late. These variations of normal puberty are more frequent than are real disorders of puberty. For those involved, however, they are initially no less worrying.

A not rare cause of worry is the already mentioned *swelling of the mammary glands*, which can occasionally be so pronounced that the boy is ashamed of his breasts, no longer takes part in physical activities with naked chest and begins to doubt his virility. In this situation, a medical examination will show whether it is simple and benign gynecomastia of puberty within an otherwise normal puberty, or whether it is a case of gynecomastia as is observed in certain types of abnormal testicular development. Unfortunately there exist no hormones or

drugs to cure this swelling of the mammary glands effectively. In rare cases, in which the swelling does not subside spontaneously, a cosmetic surgical operation is necessary to correct the situation.

There are many causes for the *appearance of puberty in boys younger than 9 (pubertas praecox)*, which I cannot discuss here. If the enlargement of the testicles proceeds normally and if the bone age corresponds to puberty, one has to regard it as a normal but unusually early puberty. In all other cases, the disturbance has to be studied more closely. Usually it is possible to locate the cause and ensure normal development of the testicles. As puberty is always accompanied by an acceleration of growth, boys with very early puberty are taller than the other boys of their own age, but later, because of the accelerated bone maturation, they are the first to stop growing and as adults will be shorter than their companions. For years numerous experiments have been made to stop early puberty with artificial hormones and to postpone it to the right moment, thus ensuring normal growth and normal childhood. However, the results so far obtained are only partly satisfactory.

Late puberty (pubertas tarda) is the most frequent disturbance of puberty. If a boy aged 13 to 20, otherwise healthy, has no signs of puberty, one has to consider the possibility of a true disorder of the testicles, of the pituitary or of the hypothalamus. More frequently, however, it is an innocuous delay of normal puberty. In these cases, not only puberty is retarded but also bone maturation and mostly growth. The young man in question thus seems much younger than he really is. If he is not treated, he will develop puberty later, and will continue to grow, when his companions have already stopped growing. This delay in puberty and growth is in most cases hereditary, that is to say that father or mother, or both, had delayed puberty and completed their growth very late. Of course, parents worry a great deal about lack of puberty in a boy and often, not knowing the real reasons, fear an incurable eunuch state or a homosexual development.

At school and in sport, the young man himself feels physically inferior to his companions, who are already in puberty and thus taller and stronger, and not infrequently because of his still childish appearance is derided or even terrorized. Often he himself is discouraged on account of his incomplete physical development and sometimes compensates for his fear and insecurity with an aggressive behaviour. The doctor has to study the physical and psychological situation exactly. From the bone age, he will be able to establish how long the patient has to wait for the spontaneous beginning of puberty. He will then explain the situation and his future growth and development to the patient and will decide, together with him, whether it seems possible to wait for spontaneous puberty or whether it seems preferable to induce artificial puberty with pituitary hormones or with testosterone. A treatment of this kind speeds up the physical development in a remarkable manner, and strengthens the self-confidence of the patient. It does not jeopardize the future development of the testicles and can be stopped as soon as bone maturation has reached the stage of puberty, because the further development will continue spontaneously. However, it also has some disadvantages, because there may remain some doubt whether puberty could also have developed spontaneously and because such treatment may slightly reduce the expected adult height. The doctor who undertakes this type of treatment assumes great responsibility, which he

can take on himself only in full knowledge of all the factors here illustrated.

Conclusive Remarks

With this brief review, I hope I have given a panorama of normal puberty, of some evident and initially worrying variants of the normal puberty, of certain abnormal types of puberty, and of the possible treatments which are very effective but involve a great responsibility on the part of the doctor. The following points seem to me sufficiently important to be repeated:

- 1) The course of normal puberty should be known by all those who concern themselves with adolescents.
- 2) The adolescent himself should be objectively informed about the normal physical and sexual changes in puberty.
- 3) If the course of puberty is unusual or does not start at the correct time, a doctor who is experienced in treating adolescents and who is competent about normal and abnormal aspects of puberty should be consulted.
- 4) The time of puberty and future adult stature can be forecast with some accuracy from age, stature and a radiography of the hand. This forecast is very useful in many cases of retarded puberty and growth, and often dissipates false fears.
- 5) In the event of retarded puberty, artificial stimulation of puberty is sometimes justified for psychological reasons. If puberty is lacking or incomplete because of a disorder of the testicles or the pituitary gland, it is possible to imitate normal puberty with hormonal treatment.

Translation from the original text in German, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

PERSONALITY AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

By L. Slachmuylder



The lecturer Mr. Luciaan Slachmuylder, professor at the State Institute of Social Studies in Brussels and general secretary of the International Association of Youth Magistrates.

PART I

Deficiencies and disturbances of the personality structural development

1 - Structuralization of the personality

The analysis of a personality subdivided into each of its innate or acquired faculties never reveals the man in his entirety, such as we meet him in life. Personality is neither a simple juxtaposition of elements nor a combination of conditioned reflexes (man is not a robot), but a living structure in symbiosis with its environment (1). In order to clarify our thoughts and give a basis to our demonstration we must briefly illustrate the notion of "structure" in the human sciences. Structure designates, in opposition to a simple combination of elements, a combination of interconnected phenomena whose properties are different from those of its components. The human being, for example, has different characteristics than those of the physical or chemical elements which make up his organism. The living structure is characterized by three fundamental properties: orga-

nization, communication and assimilation.

1 - Organization permits the arrangement of the elements according to an architecture which conforms to a functional finality;

2 - communication is the reciprocal action of the elements, of the functions and of the structures which establish among themselves relationships in line with their finalities;

3 - the living structure develops thanks to assimilation, that is, it integrates its original constitution with acquisitions from its environment. According to J. Piaget, assimilation constitutes a process which is common to both organic life and mental activity; therefore it is a notion common both to physiology and to psychology (2).

The structure of genetic heredity determines a different formula of assimilation for every living species and for each of its subjects particularly in function of the subject's faculty of

organization and of the breadth of its means of communication with the environment.

In psychology the assimilation of the experiences gained through contact with the environment is influenced by the tendency of the subject toward certain types of experiences, that is, according to the value he gives to them. The theories regarding individual aspirations and motivations explain why men prefer certain experiences and certain activities to others. Thus at each stage in his development the human being enriches his preceding structures. Nothing is lost of our past, and in the formation of the personality, and at each stage, the totality of the assimilated schemes arising from situations that have been experienced persists, as well as those which have been created during previous stages of evolution. The totality of the psychological life is thus a vast stratification of dynamic schemes which regulate and organize the behaviour of structuralization of the personality (3).

We are in this manner brought to consider genetic heredity and verbal heredity as factors which are between themselves complementary to the structuralization of the personality.

Genetic heredity, it is well to remember, is the transmission of biological structures from one generation to another. It determines the appartenance to a living species and, within this species, the biological originality of a subject born from the fusion of the biological structures of its parents. It tends toward the conservation of the species through the sexual instinct which animates the gene bearers.

Verbal heredity is the transmission, from one generation to another, of the socio-cultural acquisitions (language, sciences and techniques, religious, moral and intellectual concepts, traditions and behaviour). It is the presence of the past in the over-all culture of a determined era. Without verbal heredity each generation would have to invent and create again everything.

In every period the preceding generations survive in the over-all culture through the contribution of their verbal heredity. At each moment in life, some social groups leave those notions and

values which will influence the way of thinking and acting of the following generation.

Also within the over-all culture, structures show up, that is, organization, communication and assimilation of the elements. In this way, we arrive at the notion of social structures.

This process could cause the idea of an indefinite progress in the human species to rise. Observation of social phenomena shows us however:

— that an increasing number of individuals does not assimilate and does not participate in the over-all culture except in a partial or fragmentary manner, at the same time that the over-all culture is developing. Thus we are witnessing a multiplication of socio-cultural levels and the birth of culturally inferior groups. These inferior cultures contribute a not unimportant factor in delinquency due to the impossibility of those belonging to such levels to adapt themselves to the growing requirements of a complex-structured society;

— the existence of tensions and conflicts, when the structures deriving from verbal heredity are in contradiction with the new social structures, which develop under the pressure of a rapid evolution of the economic infra-structures (influence of modern techniques on the way of life and accelerated growth of urban centers). This explains the conflict between the generations which places adults who are saturated with old concepts in opposition to adolescents who react spontaneously to the reality of their era.

Let us endeavour to transfer these notions into the field which concerns this study and ask ourselves in which a way they can be utilized in judicial action and in clinical criminology.

II - The organization of the mental structures

The mental functions develop their structures through the combination of their innate dispositions and acquired elements. The studies on the wolf children have confirmed that a human being, mentally organized as such, cannot exist if he has not received an education in the human environment. These children, raised accidentally by a pack of wolves, behaved like ani-

mals: they could not succeed in standing on their feet, nor use their fingers, nor speak (4).

The mental dispositions transform themselves into human attitudes without it being possible to define in a precise manner the respective importance of the heredity legacy, on one hand, and of the environmental influences on the other. "Nature" and "nurture" are both indispensable (5). Personality therefore is not an isolated thing which develops in a vacuum, protected from environment.

Among the functions of the family group, it is well to cite its mission:

- equilibrate the social impact in function of the stages of the child's mental organization and his faculties of communicating with the outside world (6);

- assist the acquisition of the language, that is, the means of communication with his own kind (7);

- allow for the learning (especially through play) of human behaviour. Genetic heredity and verbal heredity combine their respective structures in the formation process of the human personality.

Their complementary character is evident, and we can set forth some useful observations regarding the unbalances between these two types of structures.

The human being must have appropriate genetic structures in order to be able to assimilate the contributions of his environment. If one attempted to educate an animal like a human being, the animal would always remain such. The innate dispositions of the child, the extension of his sensory, mental and affectional faculties, the tendencies of his character, determine his aptitudes for developing and organizing his mental structures on contact with the environment.

The constitutional theory emphasized justly the tragic destiny of those individuals whose biological structures are altered to the point of making their relations with men and with institutions difficult and painful, particularly in the industrialized societies with complex social structures.

Action which is taken to assist those who are mentally retarded and provided with an abnormal character, as well as the mentally ill, tends precisely

to insure them a place and an integration in the social order despite their constitutional deficiencies. It will never be possible to emphasize strongly enough the human value and social usefulness of the efforts made to assist these individuals in acquiring a greater autonomy of subsistence and a great aptitude toward family functions and social behaviour.

This work of human brotherhood must be undertaken by all members of the community. It must also impose itself on the conscience of those magistrates called upon to judge infractions committed by retarded persons who violate the rules of a culture which they have assimilated imperfectly. Furthermore, with these defendants it is necessary to use a language and a vocabulary that will make it possible to have an effective verbal exchange with them.

On the other hand, in the modern society one cannot overlook the problem of finding a dignified position for all psychologically and mentally retarded persons who have remained in life thanks to the attenuation of the effects of natural selection (8).

But these reflections on the organization of the mental structures would be incomplete without adding some specification regarding the deficiencies attributable, no longer to an insufficient hereditary legacy, but to the absence of sufficient stimulation from the environment.

Youth magistrates and specialists who collaborate in juvenile judicial protection have been able to make helpful observations on the behaviour of spoiled and immature children.

Mrs. Joos, Director of the Et. De Greef Institute and of the neurological and medical-psychological study center of Brussels, and Mr. M. C. Debuyst, Professor at the University of Louvain, have collaborated in the analysis of the personalities of a large number of minors who have been brought before the juvenile court of Brussels. These two scholars have found in which a way deficiencies in the structuralization of personality can orient spoiled and immature children toward delinquency.

In the case of the spoiled child, "the family environment does not impose any frustration whatsoever and does

not ever oblige the child to defer the realization of a desire, thus he never has to give up something to conserve the climate of his affectional security or in order to please someone. Everything is given to him without requiring anything in return, and the parents spare him from any shock with the requirements of reality. This absence of frustration does not generate security since the child cannot acquire the force that is derived from a successful adaptation which is employed to advantage by the father or mother. We can say that these personalities do not attain any coherency; they do not become organized, but remain at the level of the immediate satisfaction and are characterized by an absence of structuration ... One should not be surprised if, consequently, these persons see life as nothing other than a series of misfortunes and injustices. There exists a zone of total incomprehension between them and normally adjusted persons" (9).

The re-education of spoiled children raises delicate problems of orthopedagogy. Their learning of the principle of reality must be accompanied by judiciously parceled out gratification, despite of their constant demands. The fluidity of their egos, the lack of strength in their energies and personal resources, their laziness in the face of obstacles and the trials of existence (10), their pleased submission to the principle of pleasure, the difficulty of making their parents aware of the need for educating their child, seriously complicate the task of the educators. We recall that S. and E. Glueck considered that the absence of a firm (but benevolent) authority on the part of the father and of a sufficient surveillance on the part of the mother were two of the five principal causes of juvenile delinquency (11). We should also speak of those who are immature due to insufficient development of the ego; these are sometimes also called socially retarded. Their immaturity derives sometimes from constitutional influences (specially in the form of generalized infantilism and neurological immaturity), sometimes from serious lack of education, sometimes from a combination of these two causes. We then witness behaviour disorders which ap-

pear under the form of retarded affectivity, of impressionability, of excessive dependence.

The child is unarmed in face of the exigencies of the outside world and he responds to them improperly. He is too sensitive to any type of influence, good or bad. He is a moral invertebrate, an unfocused personality without autonomy of thought or action. Being incapable of creating a personal standard of values and affirm them within the normal framework of society, he carries with him a confused sense of inferiority and impotence which induces him to follow the lead of the most active socially maladjusted persons. He seeks the gang as a refuge from his mediocrity because the gang and its leader communicate the illusion of their strength, even though directed toward the only objective which tempts him: the seeking of pleasure.

The adaptability of immature persons is extraordinary but superficial, unless other psychological factors intervene to exacerbate their defense instinct (for example, following a lack of affection or due to bad treatment). They adapt themselves to any environment. In institutions they are docile inmates, but they lose what they have acquired and fall back into their errors if they are prematurely returned to real life (12).

One cannot discuss the immaturity of the personality without evoking rejection and excessive family protection. "It is curious to note — observes Osterrieth — that the causes of excessive protection are very similar to those of rejection." (13)

Whether the child is deprived of signs of affection or crushed by them, he cannot expand his personality and equilibrate it under the impact of the outside world. However, excessive protection, as opposed to rejection, does not exclude warm relations between parents and child, at least until the child rebels against the abuses of the parents' intervention and against the subjugation they keep him under. Excessive protection can be the effect of an unconscious attitude of hostility toward the child: this gives rise to a profound sense of blame and an anxiety which cannot be placated unless affection toward the child and all

that is done for him is shown in a spectacular and exaggerated manner. Lastly, excessive protection is frequently the manifestation of the search for infantile satisfactions, a search that springs from marriage delusions or an early widowhood. This then expresses itself in an excessive attachment, sometimes tinged with eroticism. Sometimes the child's immaturity is nothing else than the reflection of the immaturity of his parents. Even with normal facilities, the offspring of mentally retarded parents suffers the effects of an education bestowed in an environment incapable of producing a sufficient number of intellectual and regulatory stimuli.

III - Communication

Communication is the reciprocal action of the elements of a structure and of the structures themselves. It establishes a system of relationships in view of the finality belonging to each of the elements which participate in this relationship. According to Heidegger's expression, the fundamental condition of man is "mitsein" (co-existence), and our world is a "mitwelt" (a world with others).

There is no possibility for man to communicate without having perception of others, without the possibility of affective and intellectual exchanges. "According to Max Scheller, there is a bond between men which unites them outside of their own volition and before any social life. The aptitude toward sympathy and spiritual union is a fact which precedes every experience, which orients such experience but which transcends the individual." (14)

Therefore there exists an innate disposition in the human being which arises both from a need for an affective accord with the environment which surrounds him and from an elective sensibility in regard to the physical and psychic being of his kind. Et. De Greeff attributed a particular importance to the instinctive need to communicate (or projection-aspiration).

Sociability cannot expand itself until an affective exchange has been established with the environment. Once again instinct cannot become fixed unless it undergoes, at the right mo-

ment, a sufficient stimulus. It is necessary that the environment responds to this projection-aspiration and contributes in transforming it into a satisfactory projection-experience. All takes place as though this affective exchange were a preliminary and essential requirement for the adhesion of the subject to the environment's culture. The successive organization of the individual's personality and his desire to assimilate the contributions of the over-all culture depend on his affective experiences. In order to accept an environment is it not first of all necessary to like it, to feel secure in it?

Nature has thus furnished the human being with the necessary genetic structures (instinct and sympathy) for affective communication with others and has thus favoured his participation in the "mitwelt".

"A certain way of behaving with others exists which is powerful, spontaneous, natural, tied to our elementary tendencies . . . (Furthermore) we are born with the interior necessity of supplying intentions to all that surrounds us and which turn principally to us. Before even becoming conscious beings and for a long time after having become so, we behave as though all that we smell, touch, see and with which we come in contact, etc., were supplied with an intention regarding us. This sense of intention is tied to, or concomitant with, our muscular and affective responses; consequently it is not tied to a conscious act. This conscious act will come about one day, but when certain habits have already been acquired.

Piaget, in his studies on the child, has well demonstrated the general principle of this phenomenon, its precocity and at the same time its evolution . . .

The reduction of the sense of intention takes place in a parallel manner with the development of thought, and if it persists towards our kind this is because our experience prevents its further reduction.

The result of this is the spontaneous and elementary manner with which we begin to visualize our fellow man and which is much nearer a projective mechanism of the spirit than a differentiated and objective knowledge.

Freedom, will and conscious intentions seem to us to constitute the initial stages of the visualization of others . . .

This is man as seen by the rule-book. It is the man with a minimum of complexities, a maximum of intentions and of responsibilities . . .

What we have just said makes it possible for us to discern up to what point we are exposed to perceive others only under the form of projection, either projection-aspiration or projection-experience. We are exposed to not be ever able to perceive them as they are . . . " (15).

But how does the structuralization of the personality come about when the experiences obtained through contact with the environment are unsatisfactory from the affective point of view, to the extent of blocking the budding of the instincts of sympathy and even of atrophying them? What will be the attitude of the subject toward an environment perceived as hostile? How will he behave in regard to the culture and rules of such an environment when his defence instincts take the upper hand over his innate need for an affective accord? In general one notes, in subjects who have a lack of affection, a detachment and aggressiveness toward the world in which they have not been able to establish satisfactory ties (16).

This indifference and this aggressiveness are important factors in the structuralization of the personality having delinquent tendencies even when, in the beginning, the subject was equipped with sufficiently complete genetic structures. Heredity therefore is not the sole cause of a lack of affection.

Spitz's observations have attracted attention on the motivational, intellectual and affective psychic retardation which arises from a long permanence in an environment outside of the family. We are actually better acquainted with the importance of the mother-child relationship; the infant and even the child do not live in fact in an isolated personal life but in symbiosis with the family environment. We are acquainted with the new disease which affects children who are placed in institutions or are confined in hospitals, lying in their cribs

far from the presence of the mother and lacking the necessary affective climate. Bowlby, in England, and Mrs. Roudinesco and Koupernick, in France, have studied this manifestation which arises in a community of children. This disease can occur also in children who live with their families for various reasons: separation from the mother, bringing up entrusted to a nurse, presence of a strict and authoritative governess; they do not develop in conditions which allow for the affective exchanges that are necessary for their development (17). In his report to the World Health Organization in 1954, J. Bowlby set down as a principle that the infant and the small child must be raised in a warm atmosphere and be united to their mother (or the person who substitutes her) by an affective and intimate bond which is a source of satisfaction and joy for both of them, and he concludes his study in these terms: "It can actually be established that the proper raising of frustrated children in a normal family life is not only a humanitarian act but also an essential element in the mental and social balance of the community. In fact, if the affective development of these children is overlooked, as it happens in all of the western countries today, when they are adults they will have children who are like them. Children who lack affection, whether they live within their family or outside of it, are a source of social infection as real and dangerous as the carriers of diphtheria or typhoid. And in the same manner that preventative measures have reduced these diseases to insignificant proportions, resolute action can reduce considerably the number of children who lack affection in our generation and prevent the development of adults who are likely to generate others." (18)

In the conclusions of his study on young adult criminals, C. Debuyst notes that many prisoners, despite the difference in their personalities, reflect profound disorders in their contacts with others and in the way they show their sensibility (19).

Undoubtedly the greatest emphasis has been dedicated to the lack of affection in the first mother-child relationship, but it is not possible to

ignore other causes of disturbances in affective communication. We refer particularly to the child who is placed in the impossibility of participating, or identifying himself, or integrating with those who surround him because of their incapacity to place themselves on his level (indifferent attitude, excessive seeking of prestige on the part of the adult, expectations disproportionate to the child's capability, strict principles, harshness, incomprehension).

The interdependence of the human phenomena is such that it is not surprising if sometimes the affective uneasiness impairs the mechanism of assimilation and if, because of an inverse process, difficulties of assimilation provoke affective disorders.

For these reasons we must examine the influence that scholastic and professional failures have on the affective tonality and at the same time their repercussions on the principal attitudes regarding the environment.

The runnings away and suicides of young people, to name only these two means of breaking away from the environment, are frequently the effect of a sense of impotence and of lack of value experienced after repeated scholastic and professional failures. It is not by pure chance that such behaviour shows up particularly in the period when school examinations draw near.

F. Robaye, Professor at the University of Brussels, has formulated an interesting theory on expectation levels. The expectation level is the result that a subject believes to be able to attain in the fulfilling of a specific task (20).

This level does not have the same character for all individuals, nor for the same individual in relation to all the tasks assigned to him. F. Robaye observes that different psychological factors cause certain subject to undervalue or overvalue (which happens particularly in mentally retarded persons) their capabilities.

In general the expression of an expectation level undergoes the influence of two factors:

— the capacity to evaluate correctly the difficulties of the test in relation to one's own capabilities;

— the psychological attitude (self-confidence or inferiority complex) either in relation to a specific type of test, or as an attitude which is generally assumed for all situations in life which require the fulfillment of an aim.

It is certain that the expectation level for many persons is tied to personality elements. Among the motivating factors we note:

— the influence of previous successes and failures. Certain subjects give up before knowing even the content and difficulty of a test and continue to forecast systematically new failures (failure neurosis);

— the satisfaction or dissatisfaction caused by the family, school, professional, economic-social situations (broken or disturbed home, forced choice of studies, dissatisfaction with actual work, little tolerance of economic situation).

The common denominator of all of these situations appears clearly to be an intolerance to frustration. Frustration or deprivation of a satisfaction is an experience that no human being can avoid. It is even a necessary one to the extent that it contributes toward creating self-control and the adaptability of the principle of pleasure to the principle of reality. But as Et. De Greeff writes, the problem of frustration consists above all in knowing in what degree there will be a compensation for it. For the individual who cannot tolerate delusions, each new test is a painful effort and a threat; by making a pessimistic forecast he attempts to discourage the examiner or express his own discouragement. In other works we have already called attention to the close relationship that exists between the intolerance to the frustration, the sense of failure, and the disturbance of the relationship between the Ego and others. All takes place as though the human being cannot arrive at a serene view of life, of its trials and its events without having known the realization of affection and sufficient appreciation of his own activities.

It would be interesting to compare the observations that we have just made with the most recent studies on characterology, since we believe that

there is a correlation between the subject's innate dispositions and his manner of reacting to frustrations and failures. It seems likely that the pure emotive persons, like nervous and sentimental ones (Le Senne's and A. Le Gall's characterology) are considerably more vulnerable to frustrations and failures. It is necessary to bring them continuously to a recognition of their real value and show them how to counterbalance their emotivity in order to increase their effectiveness in relation to the environment. Such studies in the end cannot be distinguished from the work of S. Freud and more particularly from his observations on the sublimation of the instinctive impulses.

* * *

The most perfect form of affective communication is undoubtedly the love of one's fellow man. However love involves sacrifices. In general, it can be said that every bond is a generator of limitations which are not recognized as such when the affective accord has a greater value than the satisfactions that are sacrificed to please others. The capacity to dedicate oneself affectively is the proof of maturity. The adult affirms himself, develops and progresses precisely because of his affective dedications. "The problem presents itself in a totally different manner for the (delinquent) recidivists. It seems almost as though such personalities are sensitive only to the sacrifice factor that a bond can bring about.

If these persons assume such an attitude it is because in reality the future of others or of themselves, in the sense of a socially organized viewpoint, or even more, the approval of the environment, has no value for them and is thus without any meaning. It is evident that with such a reference framework — which we can define as being essentially egocentric — these subjects are sensitive solely to the impediments of social life... The outside world and the entire social organization are seen as hostile entities which generate only annoyances and complications... This aspect of sensitivity does not seem to us to be tied to momentary situations but rather dependent on a particular structu-

ralization of a personality which we would call delinquency-prone... These recidivists in reality have never loved anyone in the sense of offering themselves... It is undoubtedly for this reason that no teacher, no woman has a real hold over them nor is able to change them or hold them in a specific direction." (21)

Therefore it is during the period of their youth that it would have been necessary to protect and develop their faculties of perception and appreciation of others.

IV - Assimilation

From the psychological point of view, assimilation means the incorporation of the data of experience in the mental and affective structures. As J. Piaget has emphasized, the outlines (22) of behaviour develop themselves precisely from assimilation and are nothing else than a background for the actions which are susceptible of being actively repeated.

Assimilation is at the same time *learning* of the outside world, *recognition* (conception of reality), *generalization* (consciousness of elements in common to many experiences) and *reproduction* (imitation).

J. Piaget considers that "assimilation is the expression of the primitive fact generally considered as the most elementary in psychic life: repetition. How could it be explained otherwise that the individual, no matter how far afield one goes in his behaviour, searches to reproduce all that he has experienced? This is not understandable unless one admits that repeated behaviour has a functional meaning, that is contains a specific value for the subject himself." (23)

But where does this value come from if not from the manner in which learning, recognition and generalization are combined in the subject's personality? The originality of each human being lies in the architecture of innate and acquired elements from which his instinctive life is derived, his Ego and his Super-Ego.

Man is a being which can be educated because he has the faculty of assimilation which allows him in particular to gain knowledge from experience (faculty which often is lacking in recidivists). But this teachability

has its laws. The child's psychism must receive sufficient affective, intellectual, moral and social stimuli during its evolution. It is up to the environment to give them to him. It is through assimilation that the human spirit has been able to progress from what Pierson calls the "social archives" to the point of "becoming the base for successive evolution which will not only be genetic but cultural". This confirms the complementary character of genetic heredity and verbal heredity. The faculties of assimilation and the stimuli must coincide in time. It is not possible to make the human being assimilate something at any time; it is necessary to be biologically and culturally prepared for each specific type of experience, both affective and intellectual. But, on the other hand, what is not pointed out and assimilated at the most favourable moment will be totally or partially lost for the structuralization of the personality. Mrs. Montessori and, after her, many other pedagogues have

founded their pedagogy on the centers of interest that correspond to each stage in development. Each stage has therefore its elective sensitivities (24) (25). Let us recall the influence of heredity, of the sensorial capacities and of the affective dispositions of assimilation understood as perception and visualization of the outside world. It is necessary to have sufficient physiological and mental order and a satisfactory affective balance in order to be able to participate in culture. The life and the social framework in which we move should also offer us the possibility of going beyond the environment which immediately surrounds us and have access to the over-all culture of our civilization. This is the mission of the democratization of teaching and of the permanent education. Psychological and intellectual death comes long before physiological death in too many men because society has not known how to awaken and utilize their affective, spiritual and intellectual life (26).

PART II

Personality and social behaviour

I - Personality and environment

Personality and environment form a functional totality to such a point that when one of the elements changes the functional whole is also modified. In criminology *the study of the personality as seen in specific situations* is as important as that of the development of the structures of the personality.

One of the great merits of Olof Kinberg is that he underlined the importance of pre-criminal situations (27). He demonstrated that it is necessary to study the situation in which the subjects find themselves in order to be able to discover the stimuli which have moved them to action. It has been seen, for example, that the carrying of prohibited weapons or the violence committed by adolescents, who were responsible for thefts, were inspired not by the desire to hurt their victims but from the fear that these latter inspired.

In reality the concept "environment" is used with very different meanings:

1st: the ecological viewpoint (from Greek: *oikos* - house) describes the spatial conditions distributed around a being;

2nd: the "imposed" environment as a source of a personality's modifying actions;

3rd: the "created" environment or field of active experiences.

A. The ecological concept

Biology was the first to give a scientific value to this notion of environment and to insist on the importance of that which surrounds an organism, of the circumstances or of the conditions of the organism's life to explain its appearance and its evolution.

In criminology, the Belgian Quetelet (1796-1874) and the Frenchman Guerry (1802-1866) were the promoters of research on the correlation between climatic conditions and delinquency. Contemporary criminology recognizes that urban criminality is quantitatively and qualitatively different from rural criminality. In the work "Crimes and

the city", Denis Szabo pointed out the correlation which exists between urbanization and delinquency. On the other side, this criminality is less great when the population is not concentrated. These results should not come as a surprise: the greater the number of social relationships, the greater the probabilities of delinquency. On the other hand, in the small communities, and particularly in small cities, social control is more intense.

B. Environment as a source of actions which modify the personality (imposed environment)

In the course of our study on the development of the personality's structures we have given particular importance to the micro-sociological influences (for example, the family and the mother-child relationship). We must now describe the importance of social influences, the macro-sociological factors in particular.

The classic sociology of social maladjustment has been built up starting from the macro-sociological concepts: the first among which we place the socio-economic factors (misery, insecurity, bad working conditions, inadequate housing). The miserable conditions of populations, and particularly of the working classes during the nineteenth century, gave the first sociologists abundant material for observation and reflection: "One must have lived, so to speak, the life of a worker in order to be able to penetrate into the sort of mystery which shrouds his existence and to learn and understand the expedients which he must turn to in his continual struggle against the insufficiency of wages, the high and ever-increasing cost of subsistence commodities, unemployment, sicknesses, accidents of all types to which he is exposed." (28) 29)

As Ch. Péguy wrote: "The deprived person does not see the world as the sociologist sees it; the deprived person is in misery. Misery is not a part of his life; misery is his whole life." The improvement in economic and social conditions and social preventative measures have made it possible to combat the social calamities and reduce in particular infant mortality, social disease, illiteracy, alcoholism, illegitimate births, prostitution and

criminality. In general good economic conditions favour the flowering of family life and diminish crimes against property.

Certainly there are no societies without problems. But those who criticize the "opulent societies" or "consumption societies" seem to have forgotten the misery of the past and the disastrous consequences that it had on the life of families and of the individual. One cannot disagree that the abundance of riches favours the slackening of the individual's efforts and leads into temptation those who, because of the weakness of their personalities, are inclined to seek unlimited pleasure. But one cannot certainly criticize the efforts made by humanity over the centuries to escape miserable living conditions which nullify any attempt to attain the profound aspirations of the personality. The evil does not lie in the abundance of production of goods but in their distribution and in their use. The crime does not consist in producing nor in enjoying the fruits of one's work in a healthy manner, but in the neglecting of one's duties in regard to those social groups and peoples who find themselves in unfavourable conditions.

Already in the nineteenth century Lacassagne (1843-1924), professor of medicine, approached the problem of socio-cultural factors: "The social environment is the culture fluid of criminality; the microbe is the criminal, an unimportant element until the day in which he finds the leavening which ferments him." "The societies have the criminals they deserve."

Among the cultural factors which influence human behaviour we must include the educational level (or more exactly, all of the problems tied to scholastic life), religion (especially its influence on social behaviour, birth-rate and divorce), forms of recreation and mass media (the modern means of communication with the masses: advertising, press, cinema, radio and television) (30).

If in general the family, the fundamental environment of the infant's personality, resists relatively well in front of the impact of modern civilization, it nevertheless shows signs of an increased fragility. Today its sole force

lies in the cohesion of the parents, since the family is no longer a production unit but a consumption unit. It no longer builds up its solidarity in the necessary struggle for subsistence but in the mutual occupation of its members.

Conflicts between the parents, even when they do not end in a legal or de facto separation, have a disastrous influence on the children whose sense of security is profoundly shaken and whose educational conditions are upset by the absence of the interplay of the father-mother educational tandem. These lacking elements in the family environment expose children (and adolescents particularly) to be subjected with increasing — and sometimes dangerous — intensity to the influences and enticements of other social environments. The youth thus prefers the "world of his companions", which is the environment chosen by him, to the family "imposed" environment, viewed as an unescapable evil. Actually exterior influences have grown considerably due to the multiplication of social contacts and the presence of mass media.

The parents of today are no longer completely masters of their own children and are forced to, whether they want to or not, keep in mind the influences created by contemporary social currents.

Following this line of thinking, we should distinguish between the objective environment (real environment) and the subjective environment (experienced environment). Sometimes adolescents come to think and react to the "imposed" environment not as it is or remains, but as they visualize or understand it (specially under the influence of companions of their own age). These false modifications to the environment, to take an expression of Etienne De Greeff, develop critical and accusing attitudes on the part of the subject toward an environment which, shortly before, was still an "accepted" environment. At this point the crisis comes about, with the risk of a break with the real environment when reciprocal incomprehension and aggressiveness exist on both sides. Verbal exchange and patience should normally avoid the alteration in the manner of rejoining the real environ-

ment. When the break has taken place, the youth will seek a certain society which will be the negation of his original environment and which will seem to him as a means which satisfies his personal aspiration or his desire to emphasize his opposition to the family environment.

There is no doubt that the socialization of young people takes place today under unusually precarious conditions (31). The educational methods based on experience transmitted from the preceding generations respond only imperfectly to the ever-new requirements of an urban civilization in uninterrupted transformation.

On the other hand, sociologists note the awareness in adolescents and young adults of their number. The tendency to behave like a social class distinct from that of adults shows up with an evidence that surprises the adult world. Very often the young people form simply pacific or aggressive social associations which come and go according to the circumstances.

But the adolescents are looking for, much more than in the past, their own rules, their own passwords and their inspiration among companions of their own age. The horizontal social relationships (between equals) have taken the upper hand from the vertical social relationships (adult-adolescent). The creation of real social groups organized by youth, the flare-up of "objections" — even of violence and nihilism — become more frequent and more believed in among adolescents (and certain young adults who are no other than retarded adolescents) who, because of their number and cohesion, have increased possibilities of giving new dimensions to the normal clash of the generations.

The prolongation of schooling (more than one-half of young Belgians who are less than 18 years old are subject to school) makes it possible to utilize the resources of psychological growth and orient them toward a more complete assimilation of the culture. But this prolongation of schooling also delays the moment when the young person is inserted into adult society and takes a socially active role through the autonomy of subsistence and family responsibilities. Schooling

prolongs the period of total dependency on adults.

One notes in many students the total lack of certain forms of social maturity which are already clearly visible in young workers who are nevertheless several years younger. This results, in certain students, in an uneasiness created by this existing distortion between their status as adults, physiologically speaking, and their material and social dependency. To this is added real socio-cultural incompatibility between youth, on one hand, who is profoundly aware of the technical and cultural changes of his era, and the older people, on the other, who are strongly impregnated and structured by their cultural heredity. It is not therefore surprising that the revolt is instigated particularly by young intellectuals nor that it is expressed toward those persons who are well situated when these latter prefer to turn to the principle of authority rather than to the virtues of dialogue.

The behaviour of young workers and young intellectuals changes from the moment in which they assume professional and family responsibilities (slipping of the neoteinia toward misoneism).

In 1963 G. Lappassade (32) wrote that the permanent incompleteness of the individual accompanies the permanent incompleteness of the species. This thesis places in doubt the notion itself that the adult state signifies result and completeness. Adaptability to a society in a perpetual state of evolution would require the plasticity of the embryonic forms of life, that is, the necessity for each one to nurture the conservation of the forms and plasticity of youth in opposition to the stability and immobility of the adult. Certain adults try, it is true, to adapt themselves to both the process of acceleration of history and techniques and the rapidity of the sociological currents remaining "young" and thus developing their personal dynamism, their faculties for adaptability, their rapidity of judgment and decision. The truth is that a good number of "pseudo-adults" believe they are "young" while they are only infantile, that is, malstructured and dominated by the impulses of desire motivated

by the principle of pleasure. Furthermore such personalities find security only when they put themselves under the guidance of stronger personalities. The abuses in the political or commercial mass-media exploitation contribute to developing the cult of idols and "strong men".

Other adults, on the contrary, attempt to protect themselves from the threats of "innovation" by clinging to tradition and conservatism. They attempt to oppose social evolution by personal rigidity, an attitude inspired by the conviction that they will find security only in an interior continuity based on immobility. We will limit ourselves to remarking that neither the rigid adults nor the infantile adults offer young people satisfactory models for their identification.

According to Denis Szabo, there are two currents which clash in the modern megapoli: the neotrope forces (conservation of the youthful forms) and the misotrope forces (restraint by the old structures). If neoteinia is a useful hypothesis for explaining the crisis of youth and its increased role in the transformation of mass society, it is necessary also, according to this author, to have recourse to a complementary theory to explain the potent restraint that the traditional structures (and those adults who are saturated by them) oppose to the neoteinic movement. This resistance to change is called "misonism" by D. Szabo (33).

In our society's evolution the neotrope and misotrope currents offset each other with proportions that vary according to the circumstances of place and time. Sometimes the influence of the adults tonifies the younger generations and attempts to insert them into a stable and equilibrated present. The traditional morals, when they are interpreted to the letter and not by their spirit, encourage a conformism of good quality and assure a solid support for the traditions embodied in the social institutions. At this point misonism dominates the sociological current.

On the contrary, when, thanks to new technical, economic, demographic and political circumstances, neoteinia is encouraged, it is in relation to the evolution where man appears as ad-

justed or maladjusted. At this point there arises a tendency to discard the principles of the preceding generations, principles which are considered as obstacles to the attainment of important changes. Innovation becomes the rule which imposes its laws on all.

Denis Szabo recalls that these two types represent extrapolations, extreme conditions, since, he writes: "the morals of progress and the morals of order end up by being linked together in every civilization. If this takes place it is because the two morals, like neoteinia and misonieism — specific adaptations of men and of particular groups — seem to be founded on man's nature. (...) For the sociologist who, with imperfect instruments, feels out man's conscience where the reflections of civilization are collected, this undertaking is a lesson in Promethean effort and great modesty" (34).

C. Action of man on his environment (created environment)

Environment is equally the totality of the elements on which man's activity is exercised, his mental activity in particular (Favez Boutonnier). Man is not satisfied to find himself surrounded by a certain environment, he organizes it and even transforms it. The notion of the "imposed" environment is thus completed by that of the "created environment".

In sociological reality it is therefore important to analyze the possibilities and effects of human activity on ecological determinisms and on the economic, social and cultural conditions.

Sociology and history are not only the results of blind destinies or of uncontrollable forces but of laws which arise from the convergence of human actions and their influences on ecological and economic determinisms. Social balance is created, deteriorated and rebuilt through the effect of human activities.

Our societies at each stage in their history must attempt to equilibrate their social structures with their economic, demographic and social infrastructures.

The access to a new type of social equilibrium is often preceded by

uprisings, clashes and sufferings, and as soon as it is acquired it already appears fragile and precarious. The collaboration of all is required to insure, without cruel violence, the mastery over and progressive adaptability to the sociological currents.

If only those who assume social responsibility could never forget the principle that respect for the human being is the keystone of every peaceful equilibrium in the societies and human groups! It depends upon us, men of the twentieth century, whether the future will be a technical barbarity or an evolution toward a more human and fraternal order. It is through the personality and because of its vigour that Man, at the cost of centuries of effort, has been able to free himself from total dependence on natural phenomena.

It is also through the personality and because of it that he must remain the master of his destiny.

But regarding this mastery of humanity's destiny, in order to really "create" this more fraternal order, today's adults must join the youths of their era, encourage their efforts and their initiatives, enlighten their choices and make the most of their participation in the social life.

II - Personality and territory

Human life takes place in a socio-geographic space that has multiple dimensions. The notion of territory has a content that varies according to the type of community and the nature of the bonds which unite its members. Despite all of these differences, a common denominator exists: the mastery of the space necessary for the activity and the security of the existence of the social groups.

We intend to limit ourselves here to a few brief considerations of the intimate and profound bond that becomes established between beings and the space that they consider as the home of their affective life. This is something very much more of a "created" environment than a "lived-in space" (35). Although the personality and intelligence participate in this phenomenon and contribute in making each experience different from the others, this attitude seems to

spring from the depths of instinctive life; do not all living beings seek to equip a portion of space for the satisfaction of their vital needs? For this motive we have designated with the term "territory" this privileged space that the human being transforms, molds and marks with the stamp of his personality, which he defends ferociously from intrusions (36), which he chooses as a refuge for his intimacy, in order to recuperate the energy consumed in social activities.

The less that beings have developed their personalities, the greater they seek their security in the form of collective occupation of their territory. Therefore the capacity to furnish a personal space is in function of the being's socio-cultural and personality level. In the degree that man can free himself from social-economic constrictions, the choice of the location of his habitat and the manner of furnishing it will be the reflection of the aspirations of his personality and of the socio-cultural rules to which he refers. In this manner we can understand both the intense collective life and the spirit of solidarity that unites the inhabitants of lower class living areas, and, on the other side, the impersonal character of their homes. They readily change living quarters provided it takes place within the same living area, but they experience a painful sense of being uprooted if they are forced to move to another area. The young men of these lower class areas tolerate the promiscuity that reigns in their living quarters but they will fight fiercely and collectively against all those who attempt to occupy their space for games or recreation within the living area.

We have observed reactions of panic among rough youths who are invited to sleep, for the first time in their lives, in a single room. The sudden solitude makes them experience an intolerable sense of insecurity.

Anxiety is equally perceptible in the infant whose crib is moved from one room to another; in this new space his voice and that of his mother have a different sound! The smaller the child the more he will have the tendency to be frightened by a change in environment, so much so that he

will choose the play area nearest to his mother.

The more an adolescent develops and affirms his own personality, the more he feels the need for a private space. If the environment does not satisfy this need, the adolescent will intensify his gregarious activities.

Those beings who have been able to develop their personality seek a refuge against a social life perceived as an encroachment and a menace. News reports on cities which have been the victim of disasters furnish a testimony of the moral sufferings of the inhabitants who are forced to share living quarters with others. The same uneasiness is seen in young married couples who live with their in-laws. The human couple needs a private space. Furthermore the occupation of the same private space by several persons becomes exceedingly difficult when the affective bonds change for the worse or when their aspirations diverge.

In the large cities the family lives huddled over itself; the occupants of neighbouring apartments ignore each other; the social life diminishes, at least as regards neighbour relations. P. H. Chombart de Lauwe writes in this connection:

"We have shown that the neighbour plays a more important role in a working class environment than in well-to-do environments. Nevertheless, in the new areas of large cities, particularly when the living quarters are of small or medium dimensions, neighbour relations in the more favoured environments develop much more rapidly than they did previously in traditional areas. The sense of family, which seemed to have lost its importance, is found again in certain moments, particularly when young couples have need of support of their close relatives because they feel isolated in the social life of the new area. Also friendship relations are limited by the time required for means of transport. The structure of the city has a great importance in the orientation of these forms of relationships. When the urban planner wishes to program the structure of a new city he should take full account of the orientation of all these relations to make it possible for the individuals to have a freedom of

choice and not to be forced, despite themselves, to a specific orientation in their relationships with others.

Social isolation lies at the base of numerous psychic disturbances, on which various authors have insisted. In the new housing developments this can become rather serious for those families who find themselves out of their element in an unfamiliar environment where they have not yet established a system of relationships. The absence of small shops, which have been substituted by supermarkets, and above all in the greater part of the cases, the absence of any form whatsoever of cultural organisms accentuates even more the isolation due to the distances from work and from recreation areas." (37)

III - Personality and social maladjustment

Social transformations during the last half century have generated, in the industrialized societies, the appearance of an urban civilization called also "mass society"; this has caused the appearance of mass culture which implies special social relationships of a new type. The reciprocal action of this society and this culture creates other problems of adaptation for the individuals (38).

In this connection M. Lobrot writes: "modern morality tends to place itself in this practical and technological perspective and to hold that the absolute evil, almost the only one, is for any given individual the not being adjusted to his environment. Thus mention will be made of "maladjusted children" or of "maladjusted adults", meaning that these adults and these children are in an improper situation. No criticism will be made of the requirements of the environment, but it will be held that, whatever these requirements may be, who is wrong is whoever does not submit to them, who revolts against them or who rejects them... The argument constantly brought in excuse of this theory is that the individual finding himself in this situation suffers, creates conflicts and undergoes them himself. Here too there is found again the medical (39) point of view which implies a determined conception of man, according to which man is not a being

destined to overcome himself, to create, to transform, to follow a distant purpose, but rather a "being who seeks happiness". Now, happiness identifies itself with a kind of facility, of conformism, of rest, of non-suffering, of absence of problems. In this kind of attitude there is a sort of negative edonism" (40).

In reality, one must take care not to confuse social maladjustment (criminological notion which corresponds to psychopathy in psychopathology) with *adaptation difficulties* which can arise in normal or handicapped beings, even though they remain socially motivated and involved.

Social maladjustment becomes ever more frequently an individual phenomenon of a psychic and cultural order at whose base we discover personality deficiencies attributable to the subject's constitution or to the conditions of his education.

The socially maladjusted, in the real meaning of the term, is an individual whose personality structures are irreconcilable with those of a society which is nonetheless respectful of the rights of man and in which the maladjusted person fails and no longer wishes to integrate, precisely by reason of his triple incapacity for autonomy of subsistence, for family functions and for social behaviour. This complex of conditions is found in certain psychopaths. In general, the individual is not wholly adjusted or non-adjusted, but rather is so adjusted or maladjusted to certain environments, to certain groups, to given requirements.

Adjustment is thus a relational notion that calls two terms into play, that is to say two types of structure. There may be unbalance only between given functions with harmony at the level of all the rest.

According to Mrs. Favez-Boutonnier, when it is sought to define adjustment or adjusted behaviour, it is seen that men "oscillate between the *conformist model*, which is the very passive, very docile reproduction of given social models, and the *violent solution*, which is the search for a simplification of the problem. In the conformist solution, the individual organizes himself so as to *submit himself* to the requirements of the

environment, that is to say he acts to establish a concordance between the environment and himself by means of a modification of his own requirements; in the solution of *revolt*, he seeks to bend the environment to his own requirements."

Between adjustment-submission and maladjustment-revolt or pure rejection, Mrs. Favez-Boutonnier distinguishes (41) "an attitude that seems to correspond to what is defined as adjustment, which consists in discovering a solution that is not imposed on the subject from outside but which comes from inside".

This kind of overcoming of the original situation is not however possible if the subject has not worked out a personal synthesis of the relations existing between his own personality structures and the possibilities offered by the social structures.

A large number of human beings do not at all overcome the adjustment-submission stage (which has favoured the rise of dictatorships and the exploitation of man by man), except by falling back on the revolt-solution when the limit of desperation is felt. According to Duyckaerts, when there is only submission there is no real adjustment. Man cannot confine himself to passively assimilating determined types of behaviour.

Basing himself on the notion of creativity, Duyckaerts completes the content of adjustment by means of the original joining and participation of the subject in the activity proposed. It cannot be forgotten — we are told by Et. De Greeff — that "man cannot reach to a certain degree of intellectual and physical independence if he has not, up to a certain point, escaped from the herd instinct, accepted the anguish or at least the insecurity of living outside the protective group. When this has happened to him he has been momentarily maladjusted to the environment".

The coming to a new environment, the weight of a new responsibility, these are situations that give rise to anxiety and an impression of maladjustment. But these phenomena are normally part of the development of the personality, even if its equilibrium is momentarily broken by them.

This is why we have to be careful in

dealing with the often ambiguous theories and positions taken up by the specialized literature in respect of social maladjustment. We can, at most, attempt to clarify the matter by availing ourselves of certain observations and conclusions taken from our theory on personality structures:

a) let us not confuse the causes and the effects; beings who find difficulty in adaptation are not "socially maladjusted" but could become so if they are not aided in their progressive evolution toward autonomy of subsistence, toward the capacity of assuming responsibility of a family nature and of facing the other exigencies of social life. This happens particularly with the physically and mentally handicapped and with those who live in a situation of frustration, conflict or unbalance in relation to their environment.

b) The global culture must manifest itself to the man (and especially to the child) in forms and ways accessible to his assimilation mechanisms. It is thus not enough to enounce knowledge and formulate rules, it is also necessary to come within range of those to whom one turns. But if for example the problem is faced from the viewpoint of legislation, it can be seen that certain laws are incomprehensible for the citizen. It is necessary to educate citizens to work out to their profit a pedagogy of social life.

c) The participation of men in the global culture is, despite certain efforts made for the democratizing of studies, largely governed by the socio-cultural level of the environment closest to them. Generally speaking, each social class recruits itself in its descendants. The intellectual level of the child (not to be confused with the level of its aptitudes) will thus tend to become fixed at the socio-cultural level of its family. In all countries, the teachers in popular schools observe that their pupils, even the better-endowed of them, are considerably retarded with respect to children coming from environments with richer intellectual stimuli. The lower the socio-cultural level of the environment, the earlier it will be achieved by the child, who from that time on will consider himself adult. It is thus ex-

plained the fundamental ignorance of a large number of adults, even in societies which spend considerable sums on teaching. However, social mobility has become social promotion in wide sectors of the working class in Western Europe, where such progress has been made possible by the improvement of the living conditions.

d) Not all aspirations to social promotion are successful. In his "Réflexions sur les échecs scolaires" G. Pire (42) describes the destructive process and the psychological regression in children subjected to improper scholastic requirements. From this there arises a sense of inferiority, affective insecurity, excessive emotivity, abnormal tiring, even mental disturbances. C. Debuyst notifies the frequency of scholastic and professional failures in young adult delinquents. Today, magistrates of Juvenile Courts are well acquainted with this phenomenon which, starting out from scholastic requirements ill-suited to the personality of the subject, orientates the individual towards a delinquency whose aggressiveness and extent astonish those who well know the social conformism of the parents.

e) Failures experienced at the level of aspirations can cause types of behaviour that are the negation of a type of adjustment become inaccessible. The subject, who believes himself incapable of being a good pupil or of practising the profession he hoped for, will seek to find his value in opposite non-conformist and anti-social models. Our system of teaching (and the wrongly-based ambition of parents) thus gives rise to a blackboard jungle characterised by disquieting types of behaviour.

f) If, as Erikson has shown, during the fluid period of the Ego, of structuralization of the personality, the adult who exerts authority over the adolescent treats him as if he had associated himself with an a-social or delinquent model, he risks encouraging the formation of a definitively criminal Ego. By means of this negative identity, the adolescent becomes exactly what it was wished to prevent him from becoming (43).

One of the most important problems of education is thus knowing in what way the insecurity inhering in the new and essential experiences of life can be taken from infancy onwards towards an adequate level of assimilation and aspirations. Allowing each being to realize himself at a level corresponding to his aspirations in accord with his powers encourages his social adjustment and ensures him a high form of security in the giving of value to his personality. But it is not possible to give value to the personality without formation of character or self-confidence. Each being must discover his own strength and his own limits.

IV - Personality and juvenile delinquency (*)

"One is not a thief for the sole fact of having stolen"

Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, Book V, Chapt. VI

For the jurist, juvenile delinquency is a clear notion: behaviour of children and adolescents which constitutes an infringement of the penal law. But for the criminologist the phenomenon is more difficult to define, also from the individual point of view, since

(*) Juvenile delinquency is the subject of abundant literature which reflects the concern of our contemporaries. It is difficult to make a choice for our readers from this vast bibliography. Therefore we will limit ourselves to the indication of some of the principal works which are furnished with important bibliographical references:

— "La délinquance juvénile, Etiologie, prophylaxie, tendances de la recherche et bibliographie 1945-1960" by D. Szabo, professor of criminology at Montreal, edited under the sponsorship of the International Committee for the Documentation of the Social Sciences, 1963, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam.

— the works of M. Jean Chazal and specially "Etudes de criminologie juvénile", P.U.F., Paris, 1952, and "L'enfance délinquante", P.U.F., 1958.

— the publications of M. and H. Veillard-Cybulsky, especially "Les jeunes délinquants dans le monde", Ed. Delachaux et Niestlé, Neuchâtel (Switzerland), 1963, and by H. Veillard-Cybulsky, "La protection de la jeunesse dans le monde — Ses débuts", which is completed by the conclusions of the work of the congresses of the International Association of Youth Magistrates, 13, rue des Quatre-Bras, Brussels (Belgium), 1966.

— the works of research centers and in particular that of the Center of formation and study of Supervised Education, Vaucresson (France), and of the Center of study of Juvenile Delinquency (Brussels).

"there is no disease called delinquency and even less a psychological type that would be common to all delinquents" (Dr. L. Bovet, "Les aspects psychiatriques de la délinquance juvénile", report to the World Health Organization, Geneva, 1951). Even more, "delinquency may be only a means, perhaps the only one available to the juvenile delinquent, to satisfy the profound necessities which he has in common with all of his fellow humans: the necessities of being considered and of auto-affirmation, necessities of adventures and new experiences, necessities of playing a game, etc." (A. Racine, "Evolution d'une notion: la délinquance juvénile", Ed. C.E.D.J., Brussels, 1958, page 69). In under-developed countries the iron law of misery makes juvenile delinquency a phenomenon closely associated with the poor economic-social conditions. In these regions of the world the protection of youth is called upon to orient its efforts toward the satisfaction of the most elementary necessities of young people in the fields of health, instruction, professional training. On the contrary, as D. Szabo observes, in the industrialized societies "delinquency deriving from social-economic determinisms gives way to a delinquency born from the contradictory enticements of liberty".

These new types of delinquency appear like an exasperation of the needs created by the conditions of existence in urban civilization, like a reaction to the numerous temptations and enticements solicited by the display of riches. The authorities and public opinion are concerned not only by the increase in the number of crimes committed by children, by adolescents and by young adults, but also by the aggressiveness and violence that is expressed in the behaviour of these youths.

In general, transformations in the social structures are accompanied by considerable modifications in the breadth and forms of juvenile delinquency. The fragility of the family, scholastic and professional structures no longer make it possible to revert to experience of the past for the definition and creation of a solid base for the education of the new generations.

The mobility of the reference framework, the contradictions of the regulations, the ambiguity of the values which are extolled by some and fought by others, the instability of the social situations and human relations end by having profound repercussions on the personalities of the young. It is not without good reason that the concept of "anomie" of Durckheim, originally conceived to explain the etiology of one of the variants of suicide in the industrial society, has become, in the works of Merton (1957) one of the keystones of present sociological thought.

This bewilderment shows up both in adults and in adolescents and is even more serious when the bewilderment of the adults increases that of the adolescents so that these latter are deprived of models of identification which could reassure them. Young people have a profound need of a security acquired in contact with solid adults who are capable of giving a tranquillizing answer to the adolescents' questions. H. Joubrel wrote correctly that the need of security involves — and it is often forgotten — a need for authority. Young people need to be inserted into the system, with justice, kindness and understanding.

An emancipation offered to them too early abandons them to their instincts alone, to whims of fashion which are carefully exploited for commercial purposes, to dangerous impulses. It is noted that the influence of persons of the same age (horizontal social relationships) is that much greater when there is a weakness or conflict in the relationship between parents and children (vertical social relationships). The crime committed by the adolescent often implicates the environment in which he has lived. The most serious cases of recidivistic delinquency and social maladjustment have their origin in an atmosphere which has been poisoned by incomprehension between the parents. Certainly in the greater part of the cases the family is not directly the cause of corruption, but its failings are expressed by the absence of warm relationships between its members and in the lack of direction or of co-operation in education. In other cases the

parents demonstrate a rigidity which inevitably causes conflicts and breaks or, on the contrary, immaturity in the personality. To this picture we can add the disastrous consequences of a bad scholastic orientation. Thus this increasing delinquency of "bad boys from good families" can be explained (44).

Within this study we must limit ourselves to the formulation of some observations and, in particular, to the calling attention to the evolution of the personality in function of the modifications brought about by delinquency in the relations with the surrounding environment.

All that provokes unbalance in the child's physical and psychological development can provoke disturbances in behaviour which, if certain social conditions present themselves, can take the form of delinquent acts. The studies of genetic psychology demonstrate how it is relatively easier for a minor than for an adult to pass over, sometimes without even being aware of it, the relatively low threshold that separates him from social maladjustment and delinquency.

During the international psychiatry congress that was held in Paris in 1950 a section of *infantile psychiatry* was founded (this initiative can be considered as an event in the story of the protection of youth) whose Nomenclature Commission has proposed the expression "disturbed behaviour" to define the totality of reactions which are unsuited to the environment (Review "Sauvegarde de l'Enfance", special number 1951, page 259). This new notion — "disturbed behaviour" — attracts attention to the complexity of human acts: each time we must interest ourselves in the numerous aspects of the reactions of the personality examined in a specific situation. Delinquency is not an epiphenomenon to be isolated in the life of the delinquent but the manner with which a personality has, under specific conditions (moving to action), known and badly resolved a situation or a psychological tension. The delinquent act may be a passing lapse of a normally structured personality. It may equally be a reflection of a crisis which affects, more or less seriously, the personality's structure.

It is rare that a single factor can explain aberrational behaviour. When this act is performed by a personality in a state of crisis we almost always find ourselves faced with a problem of a fundamental disorder in the development of this child.

On the other side, disturbed behaviour, and specially delinquency, cannot be studied and treated like a reality which is independent from its social context. Whether this study is approached from the point of view of the development of the personality or whether from that of the conditions behind the moving to action, it is not possible to make abstractions regarding the environment that surrounds the child, his difficulties in adapting himself to the exigencies of the environment, the nature of the environment's exigencies and the affective or social climate in which these were formulated. It is not a simple coincidence that disturbed behaviour is to be found more frequently in urban environments. Coercion, particularly of a social order, is stronger here, while the possibilities of realizing, of exteriorizing and expanding the instinctive tendencies are less, due to lack of space and natural environment.

A thorough study of the personality of young delinquents, or at least those who evidence repeated disturbed behaviour, requires a multi-dimensional diagnosis and it must take account of biological, psychological, psychosomatic and sociological factors. Because of the problems involved, the diagnosis and treatment require the collaboration of several scientific branches. The famous Bleuler used to repeat this advice to his students: "When faced with a behaviour problem do not ask yourselves if it responds to physical or psychic mechanisms but rather: in what degree is it psychic or somatic?" Certain manifestations of a physical nature, such as anorexia in the infant, enuresis in students, frequently have psychic origins.

Turbulence, aggressiveness and melancholia often have physical origins. For this reason, faced with a similar complexity of endogenous and exogenous factors, one can speak, as S. and E. Glueck, of the "enigma of delinquency".

The prevention of juvenile delinquency

presents therefore aspects as multi-form as the factors which can give rise to criminality, but their common denominator should be the constant concern for ensuring the necessary conditions for a harmonious development of the young generations.

* * *

The manner in which the environment reacts to disturbed behaviour of a child or an adolescent will determine to a large degree both his return to a better equilibrium and his evolution, at times irreversible, toward recidivism and adult delinquency.

The child lives among adults who expect from him a certain behaviour, that is a behaviour that will cause him to become adult in conformity with the rules of the socio-cultural group in which he lives. On the part of the adults of this group (whether they are the parents, teachers, work companions or employers) there exists an attitude of expectation that commits the child or the adolescent to the path of socialization, of a progression, of a certain effort. To follow this path the child will have to accept determined frustrations: *he will accept them to the extent to which the said frustrations seem to him affectively and socially justified by the gratifications that he expects from the adults interested in such effort.* From this there follows the importance of such gratifications, especially the affective ones, that is to say all the attitudes of the adults and of the environment capable of making perceptible and accessible to him the advantages of the growth in a climate of security and of accomplishment of his personality. It is true that the opposition between the principle of pleasure and the principle of reality always constitutes a precarious and often difficult equilibrium, both for the child and for the adult. But it is precisely through these conflicts that the Ego can emerge and become structured. As a matter of fact, this structuralization of the Ego is nothing else but a manner of acquiring an inner cohesion and a way of structuralizing oneself in a certain direction (45).

In the event of a crisis coming to disturb this working out of the per-

sonality and to compromise the gratifications that the subject expects to receive in exchange for his efforts to conform to the rules of the environment, the instincts of defence will brusquely act on the psyche of the subject and will lead him to seek in the principle of pleasure those satisfactions that he no longer hopes to receive from an environment perceived as hostile or whose requirements seem to him excessive.

At this crucial moment the subject must make a choice between two systems of antagonistic values. He needs help to overcome the crisis. An awkward intervention that under-values the seriousness of the problem or which claims to solve it exclusively by means of pedagogic sanctions, repressive attitudes or processes of intimidation, will have the effect only of aggravating the psychological condition of the child, giving rise to a new disturbed behaviour.

A child committing a crime lives this act as an experience that modifies his relations with the environment. When he lives in a socially adjusted environment, his delinquent behaviour — which in the eyes of a careful observer is a symptom of unhappiness or a passing weakness — places him in a false position in respect of the environment surrounding him. As a consequence of his act, he will feel a sensation of isolation and break with respect to his environment. Let us make every effort to restore as quickly as possible the compromised equilibrium.

As A. Racine writes: "The feeling that humanity splits up into two great groups: honest people — "ourselves" — and delinquents — "them" — separated by a distinct line of demarcation, holds tenacious place in the social conscience". But when the delinquent is young, public opinion oscillates between two opposed poles: pity towards "the boy to be saved from delinquency" and anger against "the young bandit to be punished severely". Similar reactions sometimes touch on stupidity but, we have to agree, are preferable to indifference. Prevention must certainly be directed by specialists, but cannot develop without the assistance of the social body.

It is therefore necessary to attempt to make it understood that every child, every adolescent is under the protection of all adults, and it is also necessary to favour the participation of all in a work of prevention conceived as a citizen's duty and not as a mission which lies exclusively with the social and judicial organs of protection. It is important to inform and enlighten families and public opinion, teaching them how to react in respect of juvenile delinquents.

Unfortunately, there are a great number of wrong reactions on the part of parents, teachers and police. The errors often start with the interrogation of the child: "If you don't confess, you won't ever go back home again". This intimidatory process presents the child with an impossible choice or sets off reactions of hostility or defence that permanently poison the relations of the child with the authority governing him. Discerning members of the police force have the wisdom to explain to the parents the methods and means of juvenile jurisdiction. But not all young delinquents have to be assisted by measures of supervision, protection and education. The French criminologist J. Pinatel, in a study given over to occasional delinquency, writes: "Occasional delinquents are socially adjusted, have a conformist behaviour and come up against the law only as the result of a particular combination of circumstances. They represent the great majority of delinquents. Among minors, as among adults, there exists today 70-80% of subjects who, not being recidivous, can be considered occasional" (Rev. Sc. Crim., Paris, 1959, page 880). We consider that occasional delinquency is involved when the infringement is a passing weakness in respect of the recognized and admitted social rules.

Occasional delinquency is in general of little interest to criminologists. However, it reaches a considerable volume on account of the increase in the number of prohibited acts and on account of the conditions of modern life (46). In Belgium, as elsewhere, a considerable percentage of the reports drawn up in respect of minors show infringements or crimes of minor importance which, to use J. Pinatel's

words, belong to the sphere of infringements of social conventions (especially infringements of the highway code). This phenomenon explains the considerable number of cases archived directly by the public minister (about 80%).

A crime committed against persons, property or social customs is not necessarily an index of regression, immaturity or of a personality crisis. The delinquent act enlightens us regarding the personality only in an imperfect manner. Some delinquents occasionally can commit acts which are considered serious by the society, while profound disturbances in the personality can reveal themselves only through minor crimes.

* * *

The attitude of disapproval shown by the environment, which follows on the error committed, may have caused the minor to have the feeling that he is rejected by the family, scholastic or social group. The minor has a painful impression of abandonment or maladjustment, born of the anguish of no longer feeling himself respected and accepted. Reactions of this kind are necessary and contribute, as human experience, to lay the foundations of the guilt feeling. *But it would not be productive for this guilt-making situation to be lived beyond a given intensity and duration.* To hold out a helping hand to the guilty party, to encourage him and indicate the way for once more taking his position in the protective group — this is a work of prevention and education. A sanction badly applied can be worse than the evil itself. To forgive means committing the person to forget his weaknesses, and the best means for doing it is to give him the opportunity of demonstrating his ability to overcome them.

Gratuitous forgiveness always risks the leaving behind of a doubt, while probatory action will help the young person to find once more the confidence and esteem of his environment. As Karl Holzschuh, juvenile court judge of Darmstadt, writes: "Let us assist nature, encourage the moral resources against bewilderment. In every human being there are latent

healthy forces, and it is our duty to reanimate them". Since 1959, the juvenile court magistrates of Brussels have proposed to occasional young delinquents that they should obtain a judiciary pardon by performing an educative or philanthropic service corresponding to their age, their resources and the nature of the infringement committed (47). This service, called "symbolic reparation", is a positive act (the cancelling out of a bad action with a good one) destined to encourage the rehabilitation of the young delinquent when he feels a sense of guilt (awareness of and regret for the error committed).

Juvenile criminology has emphasized the importance of hidden delinquency and the disproportion which exists between the real and the seeming criminality (that is the criminality known and ascertained by the police). If we imagine a child who commits thefts that nobody gets to know about (for examples theft of sweets or cakes in a large store) and for which he does not notice any sign of disapproval in his environment, then we can hold that the repetition of a similar act, judged to be easy, would lead to a progressive degradation of the affective attitude.

What at the beginning was an accidental gesture becomes progressively a technique that allows effortless satisfaction of wishes as and when they arise (48).

This child will adopt the mentality and style of living of a habitual criminal, and these will end up by being noticed by the authorities only when it will be difficult to combat the bad habits contracted during the period of impunity. The young thieves sent before the Juvenile Magistrate are theoretically primary delinquents, but a thorough study of their prior behaviour often brings to light other offences of which the environment knew nothing or undervalued the meaning.

The prevention of juvenile delinquency cannot be effective without the individuation and early treatment of such situations. Certainly, J. Barron Mays has expressed the conviction that juvenile delinquency is an endemic phenomenon and almost a social tradition, at least in the period of delinquency. He also shows that in nu-

merous cases the delinquency ends up by absorbing itself, without external intervention (49). But observations of this sort should not allow our vigilance to be disarmed. Young people can of course have behaviour disturbances (not delinquency only) which express difficulties bound up with certain stages of their development and which get re-absorbed as the subject succeeds in re-establishing a better equilibrium in his development. But concern should be shown to give them an appropriate assistance as quickly as possible.

* * *

In the group of habitual criminals, psychopaths are numerous. Certain personalities show themselves right from a very early age to be incapable of taking account of the principle of reality and of bringing their behaviour into line with this principle. Intolerance towards frustration, submission to the principle of pleasure and an exacerbated intentionalism determine the style of living of these subjects (50). It is true that psychiatrists are not fully in agreement in determining the criterias of psychopathy (51), but without here wishing to go into problems of etiology, emphasis can be given to the fact that the permanent anomalies of character typical of psychopathy create a more or less marked incapacity to adopt social behaviour. Often incapable of self-criticism, the young psychopathic delinquent makes no progress at all towards socialization. Experience teaches him nothing except to be ever more suspicious of others and to persist to a greater extent, after every defeat, in his attitude of opposition and claim. The habitual psychopath has a deformed perception of the "other", which is perceived as an obstacle, an impediment to satisfaction of the pleasure principle, or brought down to the rôle of an object whose possession ensures its being enjoyed. The liberty to which the psychopathic delinquent aspires is without any affective commitment and is embodied in the possibility of profiting from the present and from the pleasures this present offers.

Criminologists have often noted that

young psychopaths are precocious delinquents (52). The family, school, the police, the judiciary authorities are inclined to be lenient towards repeated thefts committed by children, in view of their tender age, their promises and the optimistic declarations of parents. This sentimental attitude impedes the preventive process and dangerously postpones the moment at which the treatment will be given. There are in this way often lost the chances for curing or attenuating the effects of a nascent psychopathy.

* * *

The Belgian legislator, with awareness of the imperious need for a preventive social action, has recently instituted the Committees for Protection of Youth (law of April 8th, 1965). The task of these Committees is to take action when the health, security or morality of a minor are in danger both as the result of the environment in which the minor is brought up and as

a result of the activities in which he is engaged, or when the conditions of his education are jeopardized by the behaviour of the persons responsible for his care.

The law specifies that the assistance of these Committees must be asked for or accepted by the parents of the minor or by the effective guardians. We can at once state that these Committees have given important services for the protection of youth and that even better results will be possible as soon as they have a sufficient number of technical personnel. The large number of families who apply to the Committees shows the success of the initiative with the people. But the Juvenile Courts, despite this, have not seen any falling off in their action to safeguard children belonging to families that show indifference or refusal in respect of the advice of the organs of social protection. It is still essential to reach a close co-operation between social protection and judiciary protection.

CONCLUSION

Free will is presented, in the philosophical tradition, as a faculty founded on reason and on volition: "Voluntas et liberum arbitrium non sunt duae potentiae, sed una tantum" (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* I, qu. 83, art. 4). Bossuet in his *Treatise on Free Will* writes, "Man believes himself free: in other words, he undertakes the directing of his activity as though the impulses of his conscience and, consequently, the acts which result, were not at all a pure function of any whatsoever preceding act, condition or given circumstance... but could vary due to the effect of something in him."

As seductive as this may appear to the philosophical spirits, the opposition between the instincts and the determinisms, on one hand, and reason and volition, on the other, does not take into account the complexity of the phenomenon. Claude Bernard had the wisdom to say: "Our language is only approximative and it is so little precise even in the sciences that

if one loses sight of the phenomena to fix his attention on the words, he is very soon outside of reality." (*Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale*, 1864).

If the overcoming of instinct through reason (Cartesian concept) contributes to the development of the conscience, this is not sufficient to create a moral way of life. It is certainly indispensable that man be aware of the rules of behaviour that should guide his choice and his acts. But the moral way of life is inseparable from the affective inclinations of the subject, and, in psychological reality, it is these that determine both the use that he will make of his reason and the manner with which he will be able to sublimate his instincts. Reason, by itself, can only result in a selfish morality whose objective, naturally, is to avoid errors of choice and of behaviour which would make the subject suffer. Those who assist delinquents, youths or adults, do not underestimate the social importance of such an objective.

But this return to social conformity expresses itself only in a manner of behaviour which is based on prudence or fear.

The awakening of a being to the moral way of life implies above all a profound transformation in his personality, in the sense of realizing his affective inclinations toward others through the development of his faculties of sympathy, communicativeness and of dedicating himself.

It will never be possible to emphasize sufficiently how much the personality of those who teach principles and moral values, particularly to youths, favours or hinders the adhesion to the principles being taught. Antipathy or sympathy aroused by this personality determines to a large degree the rejection or assimilation of the values set forth. Once again it can be seen that reason profits from cultural contributions in function of the affective inclinations.

In concluding this study it can be said that:

1) the environment furnishes the socio-cultural elements, but each being assimilates them in his personal way. The development of the personality and its forms of maturity are largely determined by the position that this person and his social group occupies in the socio-cultural stratification of the society. Only a few individuals succeed in developing their personalities beyond the limits of the social group to which they belong, but, within these limits, it is possible to observe a multitude of individual variations which prove the existence of personal ways of evolving from adolescence toward a maturity which is even itself increasingly difficult to define in our contemporary society. Truthfully it is not possible to speak of "maturity" considered as a global and coherent phenomenon, but of different forms of maturity, among which distortions can appear which become elements of unbalance in the personality;

2) the sensibility (or rather the complex world of the emotions and of the elective and selective affinities of the individual) is largely dominated by character factors (emotivity, necessity of action, rapidity of reactions, tendencies to interiorize or exteriorize).

However, these innate tendencies can be exalted or tempered by education, by experience and by the subject's age. In other words, the behaviour and the moral way of life of each individual are determined by his personality which is not formed solely on the basis of the individual's particular constitution, even if this is not extraneous to the formation process; 3) the moral conduct undergoes the effect of a great number of endogenous (inherent in the subject) or exogenous (impact of the experienced situations) determinisms. The psychism is subordinated to determinism and enticements so contradictory that, thanks to these very contradictions, man enjoys a freedom of choice, that is, the faculty of facing the present or projecting himself in the future in numerous ways. This liberty represents the maximum possible autonomy of thought and action that the individual has available in relation to himself and to the circumstances. This exercises itself within the limits, sometimes very narrow, of the structures of a personality committed to a living situation;

4) adolescents particularly resent these contradictions. According to their character and their affective inclinations, they repress, sublimate or exteriorize in an aggressive manner their reactions to the social and moral contradictions. The antinomies disorient them and exasperate them. The contradictions of the adult world, particularly numerous in societies undergoing rapid evolution, generate in adolescents, who are struggling with the difficulties of their personal physiological and psychological evolution, an anxiety and a considerable excitation. The evolution toward coherence of values and of behaviour (which implies a choice between the contradictory principles offered to them) depends in the way in which the personality is structured. Some will attempt to converge the values and principles offered by the various promptings of socialization (family, contemporaries, school, professional environment), others will remain impressed by the divergencies and by the persistence of the confusion and thus will be induced to prefer the manner of behaviour suggested by youths

of the same age to those values proposed and practiced by their family environment;

5) it is commonplace to note how many individuals have a personality which lacks coherency⁷ and who behave in a different manner according to the roles they assume or to the environments in which they find themselves. This way of acting is, to the adolescents' eyes, a monstrous hypocrisy. Nevertheless the same adolescents do not escape from these contradictions; the boy who adopts authoritative and adult ways with his contemporaries behaves in a very infantile manner in his affective relationships. In reality these diversities and contradictions in behaviour can be explained by the intense need of security and accord that every human being feels in relation to each of his roles and to each of the situations experienced. The constriction, that is, the psychic obstacles which arise from the roles to be sustained, provoke a more or less intense need for infantile compensations which are carefully dissimulated due to the fear of losing prestige or consideration by his contemporaries. If convergency and coherence appear to be the elements of equilibrium of the personality, the divergencies and internal contradictions reveal an unbalance that may be casual or pathological;

6) the moral act is an act which is reproducible and to which the public ascribes particular prestige in that it implies a sacrifice on the part of the person who has performed it in favour of the community. Nevertheless there are numerous individuals who view morality solely as a totality of prescriptions which impede the enjoyment of life and the unlimited growth of personal imperialism. The sociological content of morality, in its positive (rules of sociability) or negative (constrictions) concept, cannot make one forget its subjective aspect and its importance as an effort performed by the individual on himself.

The moral act is a free act (Kant) because it reveals to the human being his capability of eluding to a certain extent the elementary determinisms,

to impose himself over the exigencies, the orientations and the limitations, to affirm himself as a person through an autonomy of thought and action. The dignity of the human condition forces man to dominate the blind forces of instinctive life or the enticements of social life. This self-mastery coincides however with the social content of morality only to the extent that the faculties of autonomy so acquired are directed to serving others and not toward a personal imperialism (delinquency of the strong personalities oriented exclusively toward personal profit). There is no morality without sacrifice (social point of view), but the effort made by the individual over himself contributes toward improving his capacities for autonomy and for dedication (individual point of view);

7) the delinquent-prone or antisocial personalities (not to be confused with delinquents in general) present exactly these triple weaknesses of personality:

a) deficiencies in the mechanisms of inhibition and control, thus lack of self-mastery and strong impetuosity;

b) lack of coherence in behaviour (infantilism, great dependence both on beings and on circumstances, incapability of dedicating themselves over a period of time, contradictions and confusions of values and behaviours);

c) bad perception of others (intentions and defence) and, consequently, difficulty in establishing positive social relationships; rejection of the constrictions of moral and social life.

Our mission is to guide these beings toward making the necessary efforts to escape from the unfortunate consequences of determinisms which nullify their faculties to select a more suitable social behaviour. From the very first meeting we must convince the delinquent that there are various ways of reacting to his situation. We should attempt to make him understand that he has responsibilities toward himself and toward his fellow man. Our role is to enlighten him and assist him in finding his road toward a more human, easier and more noble destiny.

- (1) Levy-Bruhl, "Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures", page 427.
- (2) J. Piaget, "La naissance de l'intelligence chez l'enfant", Delachaux et Niestlé, 1936.
- (3) Roger Mucchielli, "La personnalité de l'enfant", Les Éditions Sociales Françaises, 1967.
- (4) A. Gesell, "Wolf Child and Human Child".
- (5) The word "nurture" indicates both the actual food elements as well as intellectual elements supplied by education.
- (6) Also the sending of a depressed or mentally ill person to a rest home is a way of protecting him from the social impact during treatment.
- (7) Small children who are placed in a kindergarten or entrusted to persons assigned the care of a large number of children often reveal considerable language retardation since their relations with adults are too infrequent in proportion to their contact with other children whose language is imperfect. Independently from the affection relationship of his environment, a child has an intense need of conversational exchange with adults: the quality and frequency of the exchange will influence his cultural development. Success during school depends above all on the formation of language and vocabulary during early infancy.
- (8) The relationship between mental level, in this case mental deficiency, and delinquency is one of the most ancient objects of criminological study. The reader can profitably refer, in this regard, to the bibliography and memoirs of Denis Szabo — "Juvenile Delinquency" — published by the International Committee for the documentation of the social sciences sponsored by UNESCO (1963). On this question Bovet concluded in these terms: theoretically, it seems reasonable to admit a correlation between the degree of intelligence and the quality of social adaptability. A multitude of other factors can however neutralize the effect of an intellectual deficit; the needs for affection which favour the child's identification with the morals of his parents are often very strong in the child whose low level of intelligence makes him feel the need to lean heavily on the environment which surrounds him; on the other hand, the execution of a crime requires a minimum of intelligence, which excludes not only idiots and imbeciles from delinquency but also certain mentally retarded persons. (Les aspects psychiatriques de la délinquance juvénile, O.M.S., 1951, page 32). More recently (1954) Ferentz questioned even the validity of the classic measure of the intelligence quotient as an index of social adaptability. We believe, like Szabo, that the intellectual level does not in itself seem a determining factor in delinquent behaviour, but that it can act upon, under certain circumstances, other personality traits in an unfavorable manner regarding social behaviour. The assistance that society furnishes to the mentally retarded, particularly regarding the aim of integrating them socially, has a great importance both for the community and for such individuals.
- (9) J. Joos and C. Debuyst, "De l'enfant voleur au récidiviste", Revue de Droit pénal et de Criminologie, Brussels, February 1964.
- (10) Sartre notes that man becomes a coward following cowardly acts, "L'existentialisme est un humanisme", Edit. Nagel 1948, page 30.
- (11) Glueck S. and E., "Unraveling juvenile delinquency", Harvard University Press, U.S.A., 1950.
- (12) L. Slachmuylder, "Notions pratiques de psychologie et de psychopathologie infantile", Œuvre nationale d'aide à la jeunesse, 1962.
- (13) Osterrieth, P., "L'enfant et la famille", Ed. du Scarabée, Paris, 1957.
- (14) Et. De Greef, "Instincts de défense et de sympathie" P.U.F., Page 30.
- (15) Et. De Greeff, "Image d'autrui et devenir personnel", "La présence d'autrui", collection "Nouvelle recherche-Philosophie", P.U.F. 1957 and, by the same author "Notre destinée et nos instincts", Plon, Paris, 1945.
- (16) Urban civilization (despite its human density and perhaps precisely because of the overwhelming presence of others that it imposes on its members) is affectively non-structuralizing in that it multiplies the impersonal human relationships (I - he) at the cost of personalized human relationships (I - you). Perhaps one must attribute to the "schizophrenogenic process" of social relationships the development of new types of delinquent behaviour which betray an aggressiveness and negation of others that is very disturbing. In a UNESCO report (1958) introduced by M. P. Kunstler, the experts were concerned about the "unusual behaviour of certain young persons in the present society" and noted that "without being a generalized phenomenon, it appears evident in those countries which have attained a certain degree of social and economic development and particularly in those regions which have a vast urban civilization and industrialization."
- (17) G. Heuyer, "Introduction à la psychiatrie infantile", P.U.F., 1952.
- (18) J. Bowlby, "Soins maternels et Santé mentale", O.M.S.
- (19) C. Debuyst, "Criminels et valeurs vécues", Ed. Nauwelaers, Louvain-Paris, 1960.
- (20) F. Robaye, "Niveaux d'Aspiration et d'Expectation", P.U.F., 1957.
- (21) J. Joos and C. Debuyst, "De l'enfant voleur au récidiviste", Revue Dr. Pénal et de Criminologie, February 1964.
- (22) Outline: abstract visualization of the essential characteristics of a structure.
- (23) J. Piaget, "La psychologie de l'intelligence", 1952, page 13.
- (24) J. Bowlby: "The period in which the still undifferentiated psyche of the child can react to the influence of the maternal 'organizer' is limited. It seems proven that if the first phase of development (that of the creation of an affective bond with a clearly defined person) has not been able to take place during the first twelve months, it will be difficult to repair this damage." And the author adds: "The prolonged separation of the child from his mother (or the person who substitutes her) during the first five years of his life is the principal etiological factor of delinquency." ("Soins maternels et santé mentale", page 62).
- (25) According to Goldfarb and Lowley all children which have passed their early years in institutions are seriously hindered in their development.
- (26) Et. De Greeff: "Puberty is man's last hope. Whatever has not been awakened in him after this period will never be awakened." ("Notre destinée et nos instincts", page 113).
- (27) Olof Kinberg, "Les situations psychologiques pré-criminelles révélatrices des caractères de l'état dangereux", Bulletin de la Société Internationale de criminologie, 1951.
- (28) Ed. Ducpétiaux, "Budgets économiques des classes ouvrières en Belgique", Brussels, 1953.
- (29) F. and J. Fourastié, "Les écrivains témoins du peuple", Collection "J'ai lu", Paris, 1964.
- (30) G. Hourdin, "Une civilisation des loisirs", Calmann-Lévy, 1961.
- (31) Denis Szabo, "Interprétation psycho-culturelle de l'inadaptation juvénile dans la société de masse contemporaine", Acta Criminologica, Un. Montreal, Vol. I, 1968.
- (32) G. Lappassade, "L'entrée dans la vie", Ed. de Minuit.

(33) Denis Szabo, *op. cit.*, page 65.

(34) *ibid.*

(35) The lived-in space is the space as it appears to the human being's conscience. In the "Vocabulaire de psycho-pédagogie et de psychiatrie de l'enfant" of Prof. R. Lafon, written by M. Navratil: "At the present moment, the study of lived-in space is in the forefront of the problems under examination by phenomenology and psychology just as is the study of lived-through time. (.....) Minkowsky (to whom we owe the expression of lived-in space) and Merleau-Ponty (in his phenomenology of perception) have endeavoured to describe lived-in space in a direct manner.", P.U.F., 1963, page 226.

(36) Universal declaration of man's rights, article 12: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary intromission in his private life, in his family, in his domicile or in his correspondence, nor to offence to his honour or his reputation. Each person has the right of legal protection against such intrusions or such offences."

(37) P. H. Chombart de Lauwe, "Des Hommes et des villes", Payot, Paris, 1965, page 16.

(38) Old forms of social maladjustment have disappeared while others have emerged. For example, vagrancy was for centuries a serious phenomenon of social maladjustment. Veixlard was able to speak, in 1963, of its disappearance as a social scourge. But there are the "clochards" and the "Beatniks" who, for reasons tied to their personalities, live on the margin of society which they have renounced or with which they have refused to integrate themselves.

(39) In 1923 Schneider gave what has become a classic definition of psychopathy: "psychopathic personalities are abnormal personalities that suffer for their anomaly, or whose anomaly causes society to suffer".

(40) Michel Lobrot, "Inadaptation sociale", *Revue "Informations sociales"*, octobre 1964.

(41) Favez-Boutonnier "L'homme et son milieu" Course at the Sorbonne, page 87.

(42) G. Pire, "Réflexions sur les échecs scolaires", *Revue belge de psychologie et de pédagogie*, 1961, page 51.

(43) E. Erikson, "The problem of identity", *Journal of the American Psychiatric Association* (1), January 1956, 56-121.

(44) H. Joubrel, "Mauvais garçons de bonnes familles", Aubier, Editions Montaigne, Paris, 1957.

(45) Joos et C. Debuyst, "De l'enfant voleur au récidiviste", *Revue de Droit pénal et de Criminologie*, février 1964.

(46) M. et H. Veillard-Cybulsky, "Les jeunes délinquants dans le monde", Delachaux et Niestlé, 1963, page 37.

(47) L. Slachmuylder, "Les réparations symboliques", *Rev. Dr. Pénal et de Crim.*, janvier 1964.

(48) J. Joos and C. Debuyst, "De l'enfant voleur au récidiviste", *Rev. Dr. Pénal et Crim.*, février 1964.

(49) J. Barron Mays, "Growing up in the City", A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban Neighbourhood, Liverpool University Press, 1965.

(50) Without minimizing constitutional factors, Et. De Greeff has emphasized the importance of the instincts of defence and of sympathy on which the affective structures depend.

(51) L. Slachmuylder, Practical notions of child psychology and psychopathology, *Cahiers d'Informations de l'Œuvre Nationale d'Aide à la Jeunesse*, Bruxelles, 1961.

(52) M. and H. Veillard-Cybulsky, "Les Jeunes délinquants dans le monde", *op. cit.*, page 38.

AWARDING OF FONEME PRIZES FOR 1968



Prof. Armando Sapori, President of 1968 FONEME Prize Jury, illustrating the aims of the prizes.

The awarding of FONEME PRIZES for 1968 took place after the International Convention.

Prof. Armando Sapori, president of the Jury, delivered the following speech to illustrate the awardings.

After Mr. Nello Meoni's illustration of the purpose of the "Foneme" Institution by him created; after the speech of the President of the Organizing Committee Prof. De Francesco; after the papers we have just heard of highly qualified scholars, my task would seem confined to the presentation of the prize-winners. But, here too, the motions for the awards — drawn up by the Jury presided over by myself — speak clearly enough. However, as the programme for this final morning of the Convention mentions that there will be a speech by me I shall say a couple of words (and have already started to say them), but not with the solemnity of a speech, but rather as a digression on the theme of the « protest of the young »: an appendix, therefore, to the paper on this subject that we ap-

plauded last evening, an appendix in support of certain ideas therein expressed.

* * *

The first digression rises from the particular importance attributed by Prof. Spirito to the movement within the framework of the University, more rich in motivations and more aware on account of the culture of the environment, more dramatic, to give the measure of the conflict from which it derives.

In this connection, it will be of assistance to recall a precedent — truly illuminating — which dates back right to the moment of the foundation of the Institute of the University, brought about by the Goliards of the Middle Ages — who can be called the intellectuals of that period.

We are in the Twelfth Century, in the midst of a society characterized by an immobilism aiming at the conservation of a far-off past: the Goliards did not content themselves with proposing modifications to its structures but contested each one and all of them, and overcame them in order to change them radically, using as instrument for destruction the claim for liberty of knowledge.

Let us listen to Onorio d'Autun: "man's exile is ignorance and his homeland is science". And Guglielmo di Conches: "we rise up against those who refuse to use the right to research, in an attempt to condemn us to remain rustics in a belief without intelligence". And Abelard, so well known for his sensational love of Eloise: "it is the Philistines who keep their knowledge secret, for themselves. We on the contrary, drawing on the resources of our spirit, become daily more aware of our value, and we wish to dig wells of living water, innumerable, in all the public squares — and so brimming with water as to overflow and let all quench their thirst".

To leave quotations and go on to a synthesis of the attitude of the Goliards, we can sum this up as follows: impatience with dogmatic truth and the need for criticism in order to arrive at the truth of the reason; proclamation of the right to learn and of the duty to teach, according to conscience; the sense of the evolution of history and thus the sense of progress; faith in the speculative forces of the intellect, which is set harmoniously within the context of self-faith that man was rediscovering, after centuries of mortification, with the institution at the political level of the "Comune" and, in the economic field, with exploitation of the favourable situation created by the Crusades. In the "Comune", man would no longer be subject of the feudal lord but a citizen; while in the country he was to brush away the servitude of the glebe. With the re-opening of the Mediterranean, the renewal of trade, stimulation of manufacture and banking activity were to allow the formation of wealth for an immediately better life; wealth that was gradually to encourage the impetus of the 14th Century and, in the end, the splen-

dours of the full Renaissance.

I have spoken of the function that the Goliards found for the School. And, I should add, a school in which the teacher does not force on the students what he knows, even if such knowledge has been honestly come by, in autonomous manner, but rather has a continuous dialogue or discussion with the student: the impact of ideas that bring together and do not divide when at bottom there is a common love, a shared urge to overcome.

The Goliards, then, fired a broadside against a mentality rooted for centuries, which in both the lay and the ecclesiastical society of the time provoked harsh reactions and even contumely. However, as these generous souls were unable at the start of their movement to back up their criticism with organic proposals for a total renewal, they did not bring the old structures down. What they did, instead, was to pass on the task to the University, to which, in the corporative artisan spirit then developing, the Goliards gave life by changing from the initial shiftings from place to place to a fixed headquarters.

And so we have the "Universitas Magistrorum et Discipulorum" of the XIIIth century, whose name in itself expresses the solidarity of its components, teachers and students: and this solidarity was to manifest itself also with public movements against the constituted authority.

And so it was, in fact, that, rebelling against the prohibition of the Church — aided by the secular arm of the State — against the reading of the works of Aristotle which, after centuries, had returned to the West with the Arab comments, and that is to say a prohibition against becoming informed as to the progress of science, teachers and disciples fell under the strokes of the royal guards. There were the first strikes and the first victims, not for trades union reasons of economic claims but for claim to the right to have knowledge, conceived as essential to the dignity of man and to his preparation for life.

I do not think there is any need to make point by point parallels (they are obvious) with the contemporary

situation. I do wish, however, to point out that if our young people, too, like the ancient Goliards, do not appear in their protest and movements with clear ideas, the sense of responsibility by which they are animated urges them to the deepest possible research — which will serve their companions of tomorrow for a more aware and concrete focusing of the situation.

And when I say "tomorrow", I am not thinking of a very far-off time. The times from all points of view are rapid, and will become over more so. And so what counts, rather, is to be able to state that the young people of today are much more responsible than their companions of the previous generation. It suffices to think of the difference between the superficiality and carefree attitude of the Goliardism of yesterday and the commitment of today's protest.

Instead of insisting on the analogies of phenomena — even at centuries' distance, from the XIIth to the XXth — I could continue with details, each of interest, in the vicissitudes both prior to and after the glorious years of the Institution of the University: a sad story, unfortunately, but one from which we could draw grounds for reflection as to our own conduct. But, instead, I shall be very brief. Gradually, the University fell into crisis, and more exactly from the time that the constituted Authorities — at first deceiving themselves that the movement would burn itself out quickly — started to realize that what was involved was an uncheckable tide, which, born of the force of the spirit, could have had deeply damaging practical effects for long-consolidated interests.

And so the Church, intransigent opponent in defence of the ecclesiastical school, and also dogmatically authoritarian outside the field of religious dogma, quickly changed its attitude towards the University — which, although aware of the need for independence, was nevertheless unable to maintain it.

Seeing in the University a tremendous instrument for the attainment of the universality of its power, the Church met it halfway, recognized it, dictated its "Magna Carta", the "parens scientiarum" of 1231, and then brought it

to heel with the spiritual arm of the ex-communication of rebellious teachers, with the economic arm of the salaries paid to the professors (a pompous title replacing the simple but grander title of masters), with the threat of suppressing the Institution. These are the words that in the Council of 1290 Cardinal Caetani, the future Pope Boniface VIII, spoke to the teachers of Paris who opposed the inclusion in the teaching body of the Friars of the Lower Orders: "bringing you back to discipline, and threatening you with the deprivation of office and prebends, I warn you all against preaching, discussing, passing resolutions, in public and in private, concerning the privileges of the religious orders. Rather, the Court of Rome will dissolve the University of Paris".

The Church's example was followed by the Sovereigns and the "Comunes". The University, pressed on all sides by interested sympathies, in losing its original character (initially, the teachers of Oxford could teach at Paris and at Padua, and issue a Degree valid everywhere), started to forget politics with a capital P, and that is to say of Science and Liberty, and became involved in politics with a small p, reducing itself to serving the interests connected with such politics.

* * *

A second digression comes to my mind at the thought of the drama tormenting our young people: the drama of uncertainty.

Nor should I be misunderstood — thinking that I refer to a lack in them of will, to scarce love for the work they are facing. The fact is that, on the other hand, proceeding through the course of history, I find objective causes for this uncertainty, starting from the transformation of the institution of the family, found in the change from an agricultural society to an industrial society.

It is in relation to this change that there is a decline of the patriarchal family, consisting of a vast number of relations under the authority of the eldest, which gives way to the "nuclear" family, consisting only of

the parents who set up house alone with their offspring.

In this second family, the figures of the father and mother change physiognomy.

Where for centuries the husband was concerned exclusively with extra-familial tasks and the wife solely with household ones, of ancillary kind, these respective functions become less precise. This fact of the enhancement of the woman as against the no longer absolutely pre-eminent position of the man has repercussions on the children, over whom the paternal power wanes.

Meanwhile, there is a pronounced and general decline in authoritarian ideology, both because of the end of dictatorships such as Nazism and Fascism and because of the spreading of a far from clear psychoanalytic or psychological theory leading parents to have an ever greater degree of tolerance towards the behaviour of their children.

This occurs precisely in a moment in which the young people have possibilities of vaster knowledge than in the past: on the one side in relation to time and on the other in relation to space, which is ever more available to them.

As regards time, the extension of the period of scholastic duty lengthens the distance between the study period and the actual working period. As to space, the ever new and more rapid means of communications allow direct contact (journeys) and indirect contact (press, radio, TV) between identical age-groups of every nation. And thus there is possibility, unknown earlier, of an autonomous, rapid and more thorough formation.

Do we require more to understand the gap that separates children and parents and, in general, young and old? Well: all that is the consequence of a greater liberty leads to the "insecurity" or "uncertainty" of which I earlier spoke.

Once, without doubt, when the parent was pretty well the only person with whom the child had continuous daily contact, when precisely because of this paternal monopoly the child considered the parent omniscient and when it would in any case have been impossible for him to criticize — in

such a situation it was a simple matter for the father to implant in his children his own way of thinking, feeling and seeing the problems of society. And in turn it was not troublesome, or at least not as much as it would be today, for the son to identify himself with the father... And yet some division between the two there has always been, and we ourselves recall it; and perhaps with remorse now that our parents are no more. In effect, once there was peace, or greater peace, between the two parties. Now there is peace no longer, and ever more marked uncertainty takes its place on both sides.

And here, let it be well understood, I am not singing the praises — unfortunately how many still do and thus deepen the gap between the generations — of the times when the husband solved a problem with a slap on her wife's face and when husband and wife solved other problems by slapping the children. What I am doing is only to state contemporary reality, the precedents of and reasons for which I have sought in the past, with a historical and not moral discourse. I should add, rather, with modern sensibility, that the drama of insecurity is infinitely preferable to that of the lack of liberty, or liberty trampled on.

And I am certain that the young, although suffering, make this choice, and will continue to make it.

* * *

And now I go on to the third digression, with the question "what can be expected for the future?". I share Professor Spirito's diagnosis of the pathological conditions of present society, and the point that of the many symptoms of rottenness the worst is that the older people insist, unreasonably, on trying to preserve the past in that precise moment when their own faith in the traditional values that informed that past has begun to waver. To plunge the knife into the sore of the single diseased body, which is the surgeon's duty, is also the duty of the philosopher and of the historian, in respect of the social body. I also approve the affirmation that the problem is so far-reaching — both as regards content and as re-

gards spatial dimensions — that to seek a solution in superficial manner or in bad faith, as it is the case in all the so-called “compromises”, would be the worst solution.

I have to say that I shuddered when I heard the proposal that Parliament — for years trifling through inexperience and going off-track because of the interested ideologies of the parties in the debate of the famous, or infamous, law on university reform — should perform a pruning operation in the last three days of the legislature, in respect of the key points. I share, finally, what was said in the closing part of the paper of my Colleague, in which, after much insisting — and reasonably so, that is to say not through pessimism — on the organic and historical causes of the impossibility of healing the conflict (conflict and not only opposition) between young and old, he places the emphasis on the importance of the University movement, in which the crisis, by reason of the quality of the subjects, goes to the extremest point: “on one side”, he said, “the young people with the maximum capacities for preparing the future through a new experience and the opening up towards the infinite world of science; on the other, the teachers whose formation took place in the world of the past, defenders of a tradition consolidated in their minds and hearts...”. “In the Universities, however”, he added, “it is right also to seek, beyond the collision of two different mentalities, the attempts and efforts to lay bridges between old and young by the most expert and comprehensive men: and then the University represent the soil of encounter and mediation for the two worlds, where past and future, tradition and renewal, finally appear in all their richness and in all their promise”.

There are indeed, and I know some of them, masters who are not only professors: men who are aware of, and practice, a mission, the mission of teaching (not confined, I should specify, to the teaching of single subjects but extending to the subject of life, lived by them with honesty and love), and who do not use their position to climb the scale of ambition, power and wealth.

It is these men, just because they do not mortify the young with the apology for the past and the ostentation of their own presumption, and with derision, direct or concealed, for the shortcomings of youthful maturity, who are capable of inducing them to withdraw, spontaneously, from the position from which they deny “all” the past.

And it is precisely in this way that the fracture of upheavals, reaching to revolutions, is prevented: with the establishing of continuity, accepting of the past what of it remains alive and vital, to give it fresh vigour with the contribution of new blood; and by burning without pity the dry branches and the nettles, piles of dead things standing in the way of progress.

Let me add: the older people should perform this work with absolute conviction; for it may occur that the young do not immediately notice a trick, a deception; but once it is understood they lose all patience, and feel a mortification that is extreme suffering for them.

This work must be done with love because in the hearts of the young love, which so often they try to keep hidden through mistrust or more simply through shame, is a flame ready to burst into conflagration as soon as it finds fuel of a different sort.

And speaking of conviction and love, I exclude the word “sacrifice”, even if the task does call for the spending, or better, the utilization, of a great deal of energy.

It is necessary to be constantly close to the young to have the certainty that of their own free will they will never leave our company: close, but in a colloquy that can and must be polemic too, but which will always be constructive, for both sides.

Not a colloquy of words only, but based on and supported by the example of life, of which actions are the test of thought.

The burden of the years will be without meaning for these masters, even physically (at least so far as is humanly possible). This renewal, by the very fact of bringing them close to the spirit of the young, will reduce the gap of years between the various generations, and will mean that the older people take on the function of

leadership again, at least to a certain point: and the young, not having this leadership thrust upon them, will accept it simply, in the simplicity of their souls.

As in the context of the school, so in all branches of society there exist men of goodwill, intelligence and heart. If they accept the mission of pioneers, the future world will emerge better for it, with new trees and fresh bran-

ches shooting out from the trunks — the healthy ones — of the past. Gentlemen, those receiving the "FONEME" prize belong to the small but morally great group of these masters: men who have acted in sincerity, with enthusiasm, responsibility, and thus have always paid a personal price.

To them our wishes go out for long life, always in harness and never at rest, till the last day.

Translation from the original text in Italian, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.



FONEME PRIZE 1968
awarded to Dr. RICCARDO BAUER
 director of "Società Umanitaria" of Milan



Mr. Nello Meoni, President of FONEME, gives the FONEME Prize to Dr. Riccardo Bauer.

Aware of the values which give dignity to men,
RICCARDO BAUER

has spent and spends his life so that this dignity could become a property of all human beings. Volunteer, wounded and decorated during the first world war, irreducible adversary of dictatorship which led him to jail and confinement, Riccardo Bauer was a valiant organizer of the resistance for liberation.

He fought for freedom in work, either as an individual right or as a social duty and for overcoming the barrier of ignorance lifted up from poverty. His work has its higher expression in the « Società Umanitaria » which, directed by him, is recognized to be one of the most important European institutions of education and social service.

For this reason, great is the contribution Riccardo Bauer has given for the establishment of a democratic society built over an equality not mechanical but of values and over a universal solidarity which, by surmounting prejudices and secular egoisms, may promote, through a physical and intellectual activity, the advancement of the standard of life both material and spiritual.

The sense of responsibility by which he has accomplished every action of his life, always paying by himself, is an example particularly efficacious for young people whom the development of modern society is entrusted to. Riccardo Bauer is awarded the 1968 FONEME Prize.



The parchment with motivation of the 1968 FONEME Prize awarded to Dr. Riccardo Bauer.

FONEME PRIZE 1968
awarded to Mr. PARDO F. DELLIQUADRI, M. Sc.
 Dean of the University of Hawaii School of Social Work,
 now chairman of the Children's Bureau in Washington



Prof. Armando Sapori, President of the FONEME Prize Jury, gives the FONEME Prize to Mr. Pardo F. DelliQuadri.

Mr. Pardo F. DelliQuadri thanked as follows:

Signor Nello Meoni, Professori De Francesco e Sapori, Signore e Signori, In receiving these prizes today, I receive them with great humility. I receive them on behalf of the many, many people in my life who have been an inspiration to me: my wife, my friends who have come from Chicago, my teachers in the past, my many colleagues in the field of social service, and above all my father, Colombo Federico DelliQuadri, and my mother, Rosina Maria DelliQuadri, who migrated from Italy to America. They said to their sons and daughters (ten of them): I want you to learn, I want you to be educated, I want you to serve humanity. I know, as I stand here, if they were present they would say to their "figlio": we are proud that you have learned, that you have studied and most of all that you have come back to our native Italy to receive an award on human service. This they coveted so much in the new world: that their sons and daughters should serve humanity.

I say to Mr. Meoni that I am very proud to have come to Italy to receive these awards. I praise him for the work he has undertaken for FONEME. He has chosen a field of work, youth, that is more important than the atomic bomb. It is more important than the scientific discoveries in medicine and science—the work on behalf of the young people. Yesterday and today we have heard from distinguished lecturers and professors what we must do and what we must learn in order to understand and work with young people. In my life and in my work with young people both in the university and young people's organisations I simply want to emphasize what Prof. Sapori has said, and that is: these great problems that confront us mean above all else

that we must work together with the young people, we must try to understand them because they live in a very difficult world today. They know more about the world and what it is than we knew in our days - in our young days. The vast amount of knowledge that they have is enormous. They are asking, they are pleading and they are demonstrating that they want to have an active role in this world, that they want to be included in the discussions, that they desire a part in what they are taught in the universities, and above all they want to sit down at the table and help make decisions that confront them in life.

These are simple words, but this must be put into action; some day they will come to FONEME and tell their story as they see it: the young people. It is good to have one of them sitting in front of us and we should have more in attendance.

One of the most difficult problems we face is how we evolve them, how they participate and how we acknowledge what they say. Mr. Meoni's FONEME could be one of those organisations that not only bring the knowledge, but also demonstrate action.

As I bring these brief remarks to a close, I like to cite a quotation, because I know Mr. Meoni has a great philosophy. I like to quote three lines from an experience I had in India. One of my activities in the United States is being representative to the United Nations Children Fund, as such we visited India three years ago. We visited one community to see what they were doing for children and for youth, we went to a big assembly hall, something like this, but about 300 or 400 people were sitting on the floor. We know India is a country beset by great social and economic problems, but, as we looked into their faces, from the platform, we saw in those faces the turmoil and hardships that they undergo; but we also saw a real hope which was expressed in three lines that were shown in the back of the hall. As I conclude, I want to quote these three lines, but I want to quote them in the beautiful Italian language:

Vedere è dimenticare - Sentire è ricordarsi - Fare è sapere



The parchment with motivation of the 1968 FONEME Prize awarded to Mr. Pardo F. DelliQuadri.

PARDO FREDERICK DELLIQUADRI

has devoted his life to the development of young people in the attempt to create a better understanding of their physical and mental problems, their symptoms and possible solutions in order to allow the process of human formation to take place in the best conditions since birth, through adolescence, till maturity.

To reach this aim he has operated in a uniform way showing the greatest spirit of initiative and placing at the disposal of the cause his experience in creating and managing the services which help to solve young people's problems.

Mr. Pardo Frederick DelliQuadri is awarded the 1968 FONEME Prize.

FONEME PRIZE 1968
awarded to Prof. Dr. KURT HAHN
 founder of the "Salemer Schulen",
 the "Atlantic Colleges" and the "Kurzschulen"



Prof. Giuseppe Menotti De Francesco, President of the Organizing Committee and of the Committee for Papers, gives to Dr. Otto Leitolf the FONEME Prize, awarded to Prof. Kurt Martin Hahn.

Prof. Kurt M. Hahn being ill, he could not personally receive the 1968 FONEME PRIZE. He sent to the FONEME Presidency the following cable:

Medical reasons prevent me travelling to Milan. I shall be represented by Dr. Leitolf. I am very sorry not to be able to personally thank you now for the high honour given to me. Hope you shall let me come to visit you in autumn. Please transmit my sincere regret to Prof. Saponi too.

Hahn

In his stead, the prize was taken by Dr. Otto Leitolf, Director of the "Deutsche Schule" of Milan, who thanked as follows:

Your Excellencies, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am particularly pleased and honoured to receive the FONEME prize for 1968 on behalf of Prof. Kurt Hahn.

For reasons of health, he — most regrettably — cannot be with us today although he wired me a few days ago to say he would make every effort to convince his doctor to allow him this journey to Milan. Professor Hahn asked me to read the following message:

"I am both moved and grateful in accepting the Prize. The decision arrived at by FONEME is for me a token of recognition of the truth on behalf of which, today, many men, one independently of the other, make every effort possible to them.

I am only one of a great number: and I think of this truth: the passion for wishing to save and assist releases the maximum dynamism of the human spirit. In all countries, young men today commit themselves to the struggle against useless suffering and useless deaths. We have to do with a movement that is growing and which could become irresistible.

Whoever serves his neighbour with awareness is filled with a sacred fire whenever and wherever he has to deal with contempt for life and human dignity.

I should like to close with the words that George Trevelyan, a great friend of Italy, wrote at the end of his well-known work on Garibaldi:

" In the life of humanity there are two passions that cannot be extinguished:
the love of liberty
and the love of the homeland.

They can be kept pure, by means of a force that can master them though without weakening them — this force is love of men, as our brothers".

The parchment with motivation of the 1968 FONEME Prize, awarded to Prof. Kurt Martin Hahn.



KURT MARTIN HAHN has spent his long life at the service of youth, being led in his various practical activities by the highest ideals.

His mind and his heart longing for a better future of humanity, severely tried by two world wars, he has been thinking and he thinks that such a future can and must be prepared by a healthy and clever education which could foster in youth the sense of man's dignity, the self-control, a sound unselfishness against egoistic impulses, a convinced spirit of fraternity.

According to Kurt Hahn, such an education, given in common, can cancel social differences, make comprehension among nations easy and therefore prepare peace. These conceptions he put into practice in the Institutions he planned, founded and directed:

the school of Salem Castle (in co-operation with Prince Max Von Baden) in 1928; the Gordonstoun School in 1923, on the pattern of which it was open, under Kurt Hahn's supervision, the Anavryta School near Athens;

the first Kurzschule at Aberdovey in 1941 (the Kurzschulen are 18 in Europe and one in the United States today); the Atlantic College in 1962.

Kurt Hahn has acted a lot but comparatively little written and spoken; unselfish, modest, averse to honours and praises, he seems to be a very noble figure of man and educator.

Kurt Martin Hahn is awarded the 1968 FONEME Prize.

APPENDIX

On February 1963 Mr. Nello Meoni published the "open letter" *How to contribute to young people's formation*, in which he expressed some ideas on the problem of young people's education.

At the establishment of FONEME, three years later, it was pointed out that the Institution was completely independent of any particular tendency, but on the contrary it wanted to collect and give evidence to the various opinions on human formation from adolescence to maturity, in order to offer to everyone a useful mean of consultation and comparison.

With such a meaning, Mr. Meoni, in his capacity of FONEME President, deemed it necessary to write in the booklet presenting the Institution on May 1966: "In my booklet on '*How to contribute to young people's formation*' I advocated the idea that manual work should become a part of any educational program. This is still my deep-rooted opinion, but as far as FONEME is concerned, this is just as good as the next man's views, even though they may be different from or even contrasting with my own ideas, as they pursue the same aims". We think to do a useful thing, for anyone studying young people's problem, to publish here this "open letter" by Nello Meoni.

HOW TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE FORMATION OF YOUTH "an open letter"

Loving, helping, shielding youth is an essential condition to fostering the true progress of mankind.

Dear Reader,

I have long been able to observe instances of young people, between 13 and 20, whose lack of interest in their education is a source of worry to their families, while on the other hand I have known eager, strong-willed boys who are compelled to go to work for economical necessity but are nevertheless determined to pursue their studies at night- or Sunday schools.

Of course the latter are submitted to a considerable effort, and may attain worthwhile, even exceptional results only if they are endowed with an uncommon stamina. Physically weak boys cannot bear the strain and run the risk of incurring into breakdowns: they work by day and are already tired the moment they reach their school. Worse still, they subtract precious time to their sleeping.

I have always recommended that indifferent, listless students should forego such an uncongenial activity in favour of suitable manual jobs — and have then made a practice of kindling their interest in resuming their studies during their spare time, in which case however, I always suggested that they start gradually and set themselves no definite time within which to get a diploma or attain any other objective. In the majority of such cases I was surprised, say, astonished by the results attained, and my surprise was shared by the boys' families.

Thus encouraged by such accomplishments, I proposed to give my ever increasing assistance to more boys, and am still working in that direction. But I never listened to other people's opinions and advice, nor sought any literature on the subject. I wanted to form my own opinion, based on hard facts and personal experience gained through a wide range of circumstances.

I think that relating such instances

in detail would be a lengthy, and perhaps tedious attempt, as they are all very much alike. I could quote some peculiar occurrences, but they refer to men and women still living, many of whom occupy rather exalted positions. A dutiful discretion restrains me from recalling a past which involved considerable difficulties and vexations and finally found its reward in the meritorious accomplishments of those who had the will to overcome them.

* * *

My particular observations on the two opposite extremes (those of young people failing to pursue their studies for lack of will-power and those of young people who, though willing to get an education, are forced by their families' economical situation to forego their ambitions) have brought me to focus my attention on youth in general: strong- or weak-willed, rich or poor, well- or poorly-bred, with normal or exceptional qualities — on the thousand and thousand of cases which constitute the bedrock of the younger generations in their development from the age of approximately 13 years onwards.

I may state that the majority of young people is endowed with positive, promising qualities. Part of such majority is gifted with exceptional qualities which can bring forth extraordinary results. Nearly all of those not included in this smaller group are likely to attain a decorous, rewarding position, provided they are given the opportunity of getting an adequate education. Only a very small minority is hopeless: but results of a sort can be achieved even by these as long as they are offered the help and protection they are entitled to — if only for reasons of social safeguard.

There is goodness rooted in the hearts of young people. They feel an

unconscious yearning to ascend. Innumerable strings vibrate in their souls, ready to grasp teachings and, above all, to conform with the examples. But there is also the pursuit of amusement, bordering sometimes on the nearly illicit, the easy conquests, the wish to try for shortcuts, the suggestions of evil. These are the reasons why a right upbringing, carried on along a correct course and with proper methods, particularly in the decisive years, can yield astonishing results.

Not all young people achieve such results as their natural qualities entitle them to, not only for want of means or efforts, but also on account of other impediments, such as the inadequacy of existing facilities, negative aspects of current custom, family prejudices, lack of sound advice, ill-placed trust in luck or favouritism, immediate needs, corruption, ignorance....

The notion of "work", though extolled verbally, is often misunderstood and suffers from influences rooted in the far-away past. The word "work" is still largely tainted by a meaning of inferiority if compared with the word "study". In other words, the notion of "work" is discredited because it seems to be the bane of the underprivileged classes. To study or to work means quite a different lot to young people.

What is lacking is a clear-eyed outlook on future — though we can now avail ourselves of unfailing clues and evaluation factors. Those peoples will achieve increasingly greater goals which are able to regard the sum of human values — brought to its highest peak in exploiting the individual skills through a sound education and social upbringing plan — as their greatest asset and the only means to create the might essential in participating in the most noble competition of the highest achievements. In the long run the most fruitful investments will always be those employed to ensure the development of the young generations in order to obtain the highest performances when they grow up.

* * *

What are my firm beliefs?

Children have an inborn craving for

playing: as soon as they are able to move their little hands or trotter around they begin to play with anything within their reach. Children can play by themselves, though they prefer doing it in company. As time passes and children grow up, they begin to coordinate thought and movement and often perform extraordinary tricks. As they become increasingly conscious of their play, as their play-lust becomes keener, they develop more effective methods, too.

A healthy child likes playing: he only stops when ill. Children develop their games by matching the movements of their body to the awakening of their conscious thought, instinct to reason, imagination to what is attainable, the initial ardour to a tangible target, until their wildest games become orderly.

When he reaches a certain age (in our latitudes, around thirteen) a boy faced with a real task which engages both his brain and his hands will accept it and carry it out enthusiastically as if he was playing. He will consider it a new kind of play, with a more demanding reasoning, a beginning and an end and will "fulfill" it as a real task. The boy will thus step into the reality of work without shocks or complexes.

Work, as long as it is appropriate and gradual, stirs a boy's self-respect, opens him the gates to the longed-for life of grownups, reveals dispositions, inures him to thinking logically and determines a particular behaviour pattern.

I stress that tasks should be adequate and gradual in order not to drain off the boy, in terms of time and vigour, what he requires to carry on his studies, which should also be adequately graded.

Education has the purpose of imparting information as well as strengthening and training the mind. Still, if education is essential in developing the mind, it cannot by itself foster a balanced development of all of man's faculties.

Education alone may degenerate, as it is often the case.

Only by matching what is commonly known as "work" with what is commonly known as "education" will the two activities balance each other,

blending into a single activity capable of stimulating all of the boy's faculties in the most crucial period of his formation, thus creating a single-purpose synthesis and establishing a firm basis for future developments.

During man's whole formative period, from birth to final development, there should be no practices followed for a certain time and then abruptly discarded: nor there should be too sudden startings towards completely new goals, nor too long-drawn solutions of continuity. On the contrary, there should be graded accomplishments achieved through ever increasing, though endurable, efforts. Efforts reaching towards all directions: movements, knowledge, training of the mind, character formation; each accomplishment in strict connection with the other ones, in a harmony of steps and balanced situations.

In order to mould men to the best of their abilities and skills, so that they may freely soar towards their destinies, we must act simultaneously on the body's motions, the dispositions' development, their thoughts, their feelings, their instincts, letting the whole melt in the crucible of man's wonderful and infinite potential.

* * *

Somebody may consider that the tasks performed by boys are just useful for learning a trade which might come handy in an emergency. It may sometimes be so, and such a trade may help young people, lacking the willingness or the capacity to pursue their education, in finding a suitable situation in life.

But this is not the ultimate purpose of having a boy perform some sort of "work". "Work" must be considered a means for contributing to the boy's formation, just like studies are. So any kind of task will do, provided it is "real work", without any relation to the boy's ultimate position in life. For some boys an experience in gardening or stone cutting, or as a textile worker or a field-hand, would prove positive.

Others might object that we have instances of men who have attained the most exalted positions and have accomplished exceptional deeds by

"study" alone. I grant this to be true, as it is true that there is a small percentage of exceptionally endowed men able to climb to any height or to overcome any difficulty whatsoever. But these are unusual cases that cannot constitute the rule. And even for them, we cannot know what they might have done, had their formative pattern been different.

Besides the fundamental notion of "manual work" as a formative means, we ought to make another consideration about the opportunity of having boys working.

As work tires the body and demands rest, a weary boy feels the necessity of prolonged sound sleep to recover his strength. This shields him from the call of sexual instinct and from life's baser aspects, thus allowing him to keep all his physical and spiritual resources untapped.

"Study" alone, on the contrary, has a negative influence on the nervous system and may push boys to seek excessive, indiscriminate compensation in their amusements, or it may drain the boy's nervous resources up to the point of breakdown, which is altogether dangerous for the boy's future.

"Study" alone can make many adolescents unable to cope with their inner doubts or plunge them into an abulic state for lack of acting capacity, thus creating the so-called "existential voids", from which it is very difficult to emerge, even in mature age.

As plants outrooted from the nursery go through their most critical period after they have been transplanted, so man wants to be most cared for when he is on the threshold of understanding and bearing his "raison d'être". This particular circumstance embraces the period from pre-adolescence to mature age.

Once grown-up, man must work: such is his fate decreed by God.

Work no longer "manual" to be combined with "study". Such a notion and practice are valid only for man's formative period: when he has been "formed" the word will stand by itself, it will not be conditioned by any adjective.

Man's work will absorb the whole of his body, mind and heart resources. At such a point there will not be any

difference between types of work. Thanks to the infinite variety of requirement, every man will follow his call and settle in his position in any of the countless activities which make life worth living.

Work, of any type, is the means to such increasingly higher goals as outlined in the evolution of mankind's history. Our ancestors were unable to grasp the meaning of a true philosophy of work, just as our contemporaries unfortunately are, at least as far as its inner meaning is concerned. Our descendants shall have to, if they are to survive.

Children teach us the philosophy of work by their games, adolescents by their need to integrate their formation with manual works, grown-ups by their accomplishments from which their moral and material welfare derives. The philosophy of work is taught by the very life of man who, through his work, attains the dignity of "maker", while, should he fail to work, he would be just a parasite.

Let man ripen and live in the cult of work, by perceiving the first clues in the child's natural, manifest dispositions, then developing them in the adolescent and finally transmitting this cult into the man who will thus enjoy his earthly life in the grace of God.

* * *

I have always believed the so-called "social issues" to primarily concern such array of problems as are related to the formative period in man's life. Three are the periods of a man's life-span: the formative stage, maturity and old age.

According to the notions expressed in this booklet, the formative stage may be considered to be over when man is in his early twenties. It is during this formative period that many are the obligations of society to the individual. On the contrary, during his maturity, the individual's obligations to society are prevailing. In the old age's period the obligations of society to the individual prevail again, particularly to the underprivileged ones.

The principal obligation of society is to provide, to the best of its ability, for the formative period — in our instance, to such a part of the period

as encompasses adolescence and the immediately subsequent stage.

For it is during such a period that the most portentous physical and spiritual phenomena occur in man. It is indeed during such a period that any single occurrence may influence his final development, as man is then most liable to resent decisively the impact of his environment.

At such a delicate stage man may easily acquire an inner strength or lose faith in himself, come to full bloom or peter out. We increasingly lament the lack of tradition's steadying influence. We denounce faults and emphasize omissions, while a general outcry demands that something be done to shield and help young people, whose misdemeanours keep repeating and multiplying. The most diverse measures are being enforced and considerable commitments are undertaken in that direction. Families, teachers, organizations and authorities mobilize, with more or less effective results, against what is considered to be the greatest scourge of our times: youth going to seed, "beat" boys and girls cramming reform schools and jails or roaming the streets as prostitutes, thieves hoodlums or juvenile delinquents.

The environment which surrounds and presses upon man has never in the past been as rich in new aspects which can crush the weak and stagger the strong.

Such an environment, that never underwent in the past so quick and far-reaching changes as in our times, threatens us with an ominous future if the coming generations were not equipped to cope with and overcome any kind of difficulties in order to ensure the survival and the development of men's conquests.

This huge problem leads us to the only appropriate solution: the more are, and will be in future, the sources of danger for our sons from the negative influence of their environment, the greater is, and will be, the necessity to mould stronger men who will be able to face up to the complexity of their surroundings.

* * *

Ours, my dear Reader, are difficult times, which however look promising

to stout hearts and watchful minds. While men are discovering the secrets of the infinitely small — the atom — and stepping into the immeasurably vast — the space — visions of a better future alternate with visions of impending disaster. New evolutions are in sight, while involutions and failures fettle man's stride and bar his path.

Let us consider man's life-span with loving attention and dwell on the years from boyhood to the full bloom of youth: we shall be able to ascertain the impressive variety and number of the phenomena involved and the extraordinary effectiveness of any corrective action. It is just during this period, so broad and restricted at the same time, that we want to put into effect our intervention.

Man begins his life in the cradle, offering the most beautiful, moving spectacle. A child is the expression of the most far-flung hope, and adolescent that of the most breathless expectations. A young man is in the full bloom of his self-confidence, a man in the fulness of achievement. Man inhabits the earth with his frail body, and day by day he discovers the might of his thought and the strength of his heart.

Modern society is incapable of fully evaluating the extent of the efforts and means required to help man's formation, and furthermore it fails to realize the benefits which would accrue by the use of greater efforts to such a purpose. Custom and establishment pursue the goal of making man's life

more comfortable, since men are clamouring to have their needs fulfilled. If necessary, we should take from grown-ups to give more, much more, to young people during their formative period.

Still, the world of our times, with its immense economical reserves, perhaps need not resort to such drastic measures: what we need is using more practical sense in solving such a problem.

* * *

I always thought that much has been done, as to research, experiments and previsions, to understand children's life, but what we lack is a corresponding amount of information as far as youth is concerned, from adolescence to full growth. To actually do something in favour of the younger generations in order to put them on the path of love and teach them the value of work, has always been one of mankind's lofty aspirations.

But what can we do? The answers to such a question may be many.

An old practice, worn-out and ineffectual, has been that of dispensing advice from a lofty pedestal.

Such a practice is now worthless. What counts now is to live near and among young people, speaking to them more with the example than with words, stressing the necessity of working and educating them *to live in order to build*.

Milan, February 26, 1963.

Man has received by God the great gift of thought, which by itself sets him apart from other creatures. Man has received the capability of developing his skills to a far greater degree than any other being.

Only through his work man can use and exploit his superior intellectual faculties, by developing and using his abilities to his advantage. Work regenerates man's energies. Work is man's duty and right.

Love is the divine might that moves the world. Love is expressed in man through God's gift to recognize his obligations, to feel and express his affection upon his family and his fellow creatures.

Our affections towards our family are the most deep ones, our affections towards our neighbours the most dutiful. Our love towards our own children is the most binding, while our love towards our fellow's children represents the highest expression of our understanding and fulfilling our obligations.

The tie of love which binds parents and children establishes a bond between the successive generations, which is the first reason why civilizations flourish, since each civilization is the result of several generations bonded together by a common purpose. Let such a bond strengthen or weaken, and civilization itself will flourish or decline.

Affections, reasoning powers, natural abilities all come from God. To Him we owe our prayer of gratitude as well as the one asking for guidance and strength to fulfill our obligations by loving and working.

Devotion to work and deep-rooted affections are the two great mainstays which make our lives bearable in our adversities, wonderful in our most significant moments — including the

moment we are at Death threshold — if we can close our terrene life with a positive balance of ideals honoured and good deeds accomplished.

Another cult should be added to those concerning our affections and our work: the cult of freedom.

Without liberty, man cannot perform a free choice, cannot become responsible in his struggle in seeking Good against Evil. Freedom must be defended at any cost, as it is Man's absolute birthright.

Evil exists to compel man to seek good by exploiting such superior faculties as God has granted him. Good is well within reach, provided it may be attained with toil by observing the dictum: work and love in freedom.

We know that education can improve man, that life is a compound of forces always springing up again, an ever lasting revival of gasps, an inexhaustible source of good and evil; then, on the "new frontier", which battle is to be chosen?

The one which aims at solving the problems relating to the better formation of Youth!

Translation from the original text in Italian, which we beg to refer to in case of doubt.

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